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Pact, NATO Representatives Meet in Vienna
LD0911103388 Moscow TASS in English 1001 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Vienna November 9 TASS—A meeting was held here today within the framework of consultations between Warsaw Treaty and NATO representatives on elaboration of the mandate of the future negotiations on troops and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Solton on Redman Remarks on Krasnoyarsk Radar
LD0911110488 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] A representative of the United States Department of State, Charles Redman, has commented on the conference of Soviet and U.S. experts to discuss the radar station early next week. He said that the Krasnoyarsk station was built in violation of the 1972 ABM Treaty and demanded dismantling both the station and its equipment. Otherwise, he threatened, the United States must adopt countermeasures.

Now, what is there behind an attitude of this kind? Yuriy Solton of Radio Moscow replies:

Understandably, the United States doesn't want to keep the treaty intact. Washington has long since looked for pretexts to skirt the ABM Treaty, that's beginning to hinder action on what American officials call the Strategic Defense Initiative, the SDI—otherwise known as the Star Wars program. In violation of the treaty the United States has deployed the large radar station in Greenland and is building a similar station in Britain, as well as beginning to test SDI space-based elements. Since the Soviet Union and the U.S. leaders have agreed to continue abiding by the treaty for a definite period of time, Washington cannot admit it is about to scrap it. So it is inventing things.

The Americans cannot but perfectly well know that the Krasnoyarsk radar station cannot help solve ABM tasks and for that reason it doesn't fall under the ABM Treaty. Washington has received the characteristics of both the station and its equipment through official channels. What's more, work on the station was stopped in October last year. And last September Moscow proposed, in a bid to remove disputes, that an international cooperation center be set up at the station to explore space for peaceful purposes. The center could be included into the World Space Organization. The Soviet Government decided to place the Krasnoyarsk radar station at the disposal of the National Academy of Sciences. That's the truth—but will it be recognized by those who have opted for a downright falsehood to justify their destructive policy, a policy jeopardizing not only the ABM Treaty but an agreement to cut by half strategic offensive arms of both the Soviet Union and the United States?

Correspondents on Visit to Krasnoyarsk Station
PM0911100188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent N. Krivomazov and TASS correspondents V. Ovcharov and Yu. Khots report: "'Secret' Installation Much Discussed in the West"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—If it is true that "rare is the bird that reaches the middle Dnepr," then rare is the diesel ship that will risk entering the renowned Kazachinskiy Rapids here in the middle Yenisey without assistance. Even the harsh Siberian frosts cannot freeze and calm the torrents of water rushing over the reefs. But it is not this primitive wonder that adds to the exotic nature of Krasnoyarsk which has become renowned in recent years. Those who had never visited the area announced to the entire world the existence on the banks of the Yenisey of a far more dangerous "reef"—a "huge" radar station which is allegedly a "substantive violation" of the ABM Treaty. Thus was this previously unknown corner of the taiga turned into a major obstacle. An obstacle not to the river current but to the desires of big-time politics.

We were lucky enough to be the first journalists to visit the Krasnoyarsk radar station and see with our own eyes what had become for others virtually the main justification for continuing preparations for "Star Wars." The Americans' "linkage" of nuclear disarmament to the fate of the Krasnoyarsk radar was above all a vocal pretext for justifying plans to create their own ABM system. Along the lines that they should get "Star Wars" in return for Krasnoyarsk. This was a dead end. Farfetched perhaps but, alas, real.

In this instance, a dead end in the taiga, where the road leads south to Krasnoyarsk. The journey there was difficult; at night the rain was pouring and in the morning it was freezing with a light dusting of snow. It looked like an ice rink. It was only after 4 hours, when the veil of snow lifted around the next turn, that we saw an architecturally amazing castle atop a hill amid the fallen taiga trees. We went another few kilometers down the winding road and beside it there was suddenly another large installation shaped like a truncated trapezoid, almost 100 meters in height. There was a sign at the entrance reading "Long-Range Communications Center." How long range? Communicating with whom? To what end? There were more questions than answers. But let's not get ahead of ourselves. We wanted to have a better look round. After all, nobody had ever seen such a thing before. Even the developers had only seen it on paper. After all, the work, as is well known, is not finished. Moreover, it was halted altogether exactly a year ago. We declared a moratorium to enable doubters to see for themselves just what was going on.

The first impression was that the two "boxy" buildings were typical examples of what is known at any construction site as an "unfinished job." Weeds withered by the frost grew everywhere. From the fourth floor the windows of the "trapezoid" were boarded up. Drafts whipped through the gaps in the windows. Further away was the storehouse—just walls and a roof, with a snowdrift inside. On the other side were boxes of equipment sprinkled with snow. Anyone could see that there was a moratorium in effect....

This was the same picture a year ago when, tired of distrust, we said, "Look for yourselves!" We made the offer to those who were scanning the Siberian construction project from their satellites.

Last September our country took an unusual step; showing goodwill, we invited U.S. congressmen and accompanying experts to visit the Krasnoyarsk radar to see for themselves that the station was not in violation of the ABM Treaty. The guests took thousands of photographs and shot kilometers of videotape. They wandered around the construction site and shrugged their shoulders: They saw everything they wanted and found no threat. Thomas Dowdy admittedly quipped: "Back home we'd probably demote the guy in charge of this project. If I hadn't known anything about the project before, it would be impossible to tell if it was being built or demolished."

The year that has passed since that visit has changed nothing. But only at the construction site. Our country has proposed resolving the future of the Krasnoyarsk radar by a means which would both pacify the overly suspicious "experts" and be of use to world science. In the speech delivered by M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk we proposed creating an international center for cooperation in the use of space for peaceful purposes at the site of the radar station. We saw for ourselves that the station is indeed of scientific value.

We toured the radar station with B. Shishkin, a representative of the USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry.

Boris Vasilyevich is 55. He made his first radio receiver in the ninth grade. Soon afterward he would hear the voice of Levitan announcing the news about Sputnik and Gagarin. A new, space-age generation of engineers, scientists, and designers has grown up. Each step in space exploration has been accompanied by a search for new technical solutions. Space radio communications have improved too. While there were few satellites people made do with conventional communications. Practically each spacecraft had its own location device. Now that the number of such craft continually in orbit is approaching 10,000, special means of monitoring space—a kind of space "automobile inspection"—are needed. It was for this purpose that the Krasnoyarsk radar was set up.

"In the late seventies scientists were tasked with developing a fundamentally new system of tracking numerous spacecraft," B. Shishkin said. "that was how the Krasnoyarsk radar story started."

[Correspondents] Why was Krasnoyarsk Kray in particular chosen for the project?

[Shishkin] There were many reasons. The main one was that this area is a kind of crossroads over which many spacecraft pass.

[Correspondents] So what features of the Krasnoyarsk radar might cause suspicion that it was intended for a different purpose?

[Shishkin] Above all, it seems to me, the fact that it is a substantial engineering project easily visible from space. Judge for yourselves, the station comprises two devices—a transmitter and a receiver. What you called a "castle" in conversation with me is actually the transmitter. Its antenna covers an area 30 by 40 meters. It places dozens of transmitting antennas under integrated control. Naturally, its total power is many times greater than that of a single transmitter. The second building you saw receives signals bounced off spacecraft or signals from extraterrestrial radiowave sources such as the sun or the Cygnus and Cassiopeia constellations. Incidentally, the size of the receiver area is also impressive—80 meters by 80. Both these installations operate with the aid of an engineering backup complex.

[Correspondents] But it is claimed in the West that the Krasnoyarsk radar could be used for antimissile defense.

[Shishkin] In my view, this is totally absurd. First, the station works in the meter radiowave band. This, as any specialist knows, is unsuitable for such a task. Moreover, the buildings you can see have been built like housing—that is, they have no special defenses or built-in hardening that would be needed in the event of a nuclear attack. Finally, the radar station's power supply comes from the ordinary grid system, which would most likely be put out of action in the very first minutes of any conflict. Moreover, it is well known that ABM stations are located close to strategically important targets. There are no such targets in this area.

[Correspondents] In what way could this station be used for scientific purposes, as proposed by M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk?

[Shishkin] There are great opportunities in this respect. Take merely the study of the earth's ionosphere. Everyone knows that magnetic storms disrupt radio communications and complicate the tracking of spacecraft and the transmission of information via communications satellites—information without which it is hard to imagine modern life. But the meter waveband, in which the station works, and the station's orientation make it possible to research the ionosphere in a large area of near-earth space.... [Shishkin ends]

We took an elevator to the top of the transmitter. A couple of Zhigulis could probably fit in the cargo elevator. On the seventh floor we saw a kind of sloping "track" on which car races could be held. But there were robot manipulators trundling down this slope. For the moment all the compartments where the equipment is to be installed are empty—like honeycombs in a bad season.

[Correspondents] Will a great deal have to be done to turn the station into an international center, as we have proposed?

[Shishkin] Clearly, it will primarily be necessary to complete construction work and install the necessary equipment.

[Correspondents] What equipment is that?

[Shishkin] Having completed installation of whatever equipment is still fit for use after its long storage, we must supplement this equipment with new devices. With equipment to resolve tasks of interest to scientists from many countries. As is done, for instance, in our manned space program during international flights on space stations or during research into the solar system. [Shishkin ends]

After this conversation on space we came back down to earth. After a journey of a few minutes we were in the construction workers' settlement. Only those maintaining the radar station in its "frozen" state remain here. But why is the moratorium announced a year ago in force here too? An almost-completed kindergarten and several residential buildings have still not been commissioned. Did the construction workers have to leave these undoubtedly peaceful buildings too? Is not the interpretation of a "moratorium" with regard to sociocultural and leisure installations too simplistic?

On the other hand, schoolchildren were taking the day off. Fourth-graders were on a trip to the radar station. Their young teacher, Lyudmila Generalova, comes from a neighboring village. The news about the transfer of the radar station to the USSR Academy of Sciences and our further efforts to set up an international cooperation center delight her, as they do each of us. But what about the young Siberians, who do not yet even suspect that they are some of the first visitors to this famous installation?

"One building is like an elephant, and the other one, the big one, is like a ship," was Lesha Valishevskiy's instant reply.

...The first to begin navigation here is Captain G. Bondarenko of the heavy tug "Yenisey." All 600 of the Yenisey captains know him. Not a single one passes him by; they all hope and are sure that Bondarenko will not let them down. He is master of the Kazachinskiy Rapids. A steel cable has been laid along the riverbed. The guide ship attaches itself to it and pulls river convoys along behind it on a strong hawser.

Similar rapids on the river of life have arisen alongside the Kazachinskiy Rapids. These, under the name of a radar station, might seem impassable and dangerous to the layman. But there are strong guides and skilled captains. On this score Bondarenko has his own version of what is happening in the world:

"It is far more convenient to sit things out in a quiet backwater. But one way or another, you have to sail. Or you won't get home.... Do you know what was the first ship to guide others through the rapids? A tug built in America 100 years ago. And far weaker than mine. So why don't we pull together now?"

Article Marks Anniversary of First H-Bomb

PM0811113188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by political observer Gennadiy Vasilyev under the rubric "Viewpoint": "Placating the Genie"]

[Text] Thirty-six years ago, on 1 November 1952, a huge fireball erupted over Eniwetok atoll in the Pacific and was followed by a gigantic mushroom cloud which towered 40 km into the sky. The United States had conducted the first test of a thermonuclear device. "My baby," Edward Teller, the creator of the hydrogen bomb, affectionately called it. A monster had been born to mankind....

The desire to gain decisive military superiority so as to be able to dictate their will to the peoples formed the basis of the striving of those U.S. circles which had embarked on the creation of nuclear weapons. Seven years before the United States had produced and "tested" the atom bomb on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It seemed to those politicians, obsessed with the idea of "Pax Americana," that they had achieved their cherished goal. As the U.S. historian D. Yergin writes, there emerged among them a "mood of euphoria, a sense of omnipotence, which miraculously removed the problems of conventional diplomacy." But the U.S. nuclear monopoly was short-lived. Within 4 years, considerably sooner than Washington had anticipated, an atom bomb had been tested in the Soviet Union. Once again a relative equilibrium was established. It seemed that it would end there, especially since the USSR had proposed from the very beginning a ban on the use of nuclear energy for military purposes.

But the line of military confrontation prevailed on the Potomac, a line based on the assumption that the "potential enemy will not stand firm." Those were the years of the cold war, when extremist circles in the West proclaimed the course of a global struggle against "world communism." President Truman did not heed the voices of Albert Einstein, Robert Oppenheimer, Hans Bethe, and other major scientists who urged that people refrain from working on the creation of a weapon whose use threatened mankind's very existence. The nuclear arms race had entered a new stage.

The explosions of the atomic charges in 1945 and the much more powerful thermonuclear device in 1952 were decisive landmarks in life on our planet. Having entered the nuclear age, when the energy of the atom acquired military significance, mankind lost its immortality. Even the logically impossible—the destruction of mankind many times over—had become technically possible. After all, one strategic submarine today carries a destructive potential equivalent to several World War II's.

All living beings have an innate sense of self-preservation. It would be strange if man, endowed with the ability to think, failed to draw conclusions for himself from the grim realities of our age. The birth of weapons of mass destruction also made mankind anxious for his future. The accumulation of mountains of nuclear explosives and vast arsenals of delivery vehicles could not but intensify that anxiety, which assumed the form of mass antiwar movements. These antinuclear feelings became a political reality which no sensible politician can ignore today. International talks began aimed at bringing weapons of mass destruction under control, limiting them, and making the situation in the world more stable and predictable. The most important landmarks on this path were the Treaty on Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Underwater (1963), the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1968), and the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty (1972) and SALT II Treaty (1979).

The real breakthrough, and a qualitatively new achievement in the movement toward a safe world, was the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the first real step toward the elimination of nuclear weapons. Relations between the USSR and the United States have begun to change for the better; the two most powerful states have begun to reform their ties in the interests of the peoples of those countries and in the interests of the entire world community. When you look back today over the past 4 decades of the nuclear era, you think to yourself: What colossal material and intellectual resources have been wasted on a race whose destructive consequences mankind is only just beginning to try seriously to localize!

From the very outset the Soviet Union has been advocating that this monstrous weapon be outlawed. The plan for gradually freeing the earth from nuclear weapons by the year 2000, put forward by the Soviet leadership 15 January 1986, is not a fantasy or a dream but a practical path toward a safe world. It is only by placating the nuclear genie and confining its violent energy to the reactors of civilian power stations that mankind will be able to ensure its self-preservation.

Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing

Comments on U.S. Election Result

LD0911140788 Moscow TASS in English 1403 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 9 TASS—The position of U.S. voters is respected in the Soviet Union which is ready to cooperate with the administration and Congress entrusted by the American people with the powers of leading the nation, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev, a deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, said people in this country were following closely the way the issues of Soviet-American relations were raised during the election campaign in the United States.

All that, he explained, has been of significance to the USSR from the standpoint of prospects for developing Soviet-American political dialogue under the next administration in every field, especially the sphere of security which is central to bilateral relations.

Satisfaction is expressed in the Soviet Union, in particular, with the fact that, judging by the results of public opinion polls, American voters have expressed themselves in favor of continuing Soviet-American disarmament talks and broadening cooperation and contacts between the United States and the USSR in most diverse fields, Perfilyev said.

The line of consistency in developing Soviet-American relations on the basis of a constructive approach enjoys, as pointed out in the United States itself, extensive support both among the Republicans and among the Democrats. This, the spokesman continued, will definitely facilitate the continued development of political dialogue between the two countries for the benefit of enhancing peace and international security.

Answering a question about the possibility of another Soviet-American summit, the Soviet spokesman said such meetings have now become regular and one can predict with a large measure of confidence that the practice will be continued in the future as well.

Until the inauguration of the new president the Soviet Union will be dealing with the outgoing administration and counts on positive results, Perfilyev said.

Announces Gorbachev Visit to India

LD0911123788 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 9 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will pay an official friendly visit to India in the second half of this month at the invitation of the Indian leadership, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev, a deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing here:

"We are convinced that the forthcoming summit in New Delhi will be a landmark event in relations between our countries and help strengthen their cooperation in international affairs."

He added that during his visit Gorbachev will attend the closing ceremony of the Festival of the USSR in India.

That festival and the one of India in the Soviet Union have been, Perfilyev said, a powerful means for bringing the people of the two countries closer together and for their mutual spiritual enrichment, as well as a genuine embodiment of citizen diplomacy.

Notes Support for Cambodian Initiatives

LD0911134488 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 9 TASS—The latest initiatives by the leadership of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for scaling down military-political confrontation and improving the situation in the Korean peninsula are wholeheartedly supported in the USSR, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev, chief [as received] of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing.

The DPRK leadership recently put forward a package of peace proposals providing for the phased withdrawal of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons from South Korea and for cuts in the armed forces of the two Korean sides.

It suggested holding a tripartite conference to be attended by representatives of the DPRK, the United States and South Korea, military-political talks between North and South and a summit of the two parts of Korea with a view to realizing these initiatives.

It is hoped in the Soviet Union, Perfilyev said, that all the interested sides will join the peaceful efforts of the DPRK and that the emergent trend of starting interKorean dialogue will further develop thanks to the DPRK initiatives.

"We fully support this course of developments in Korea", he added.

The spokesman then commented on continuing talks in Paris between the leaders of three Kampuchean sides—Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann—for reaching a political solution to the conflict regarding Kampuchea.

"Red Khmers", regrettably, keep refusing to take part in interKhmer dialogue.

After telling reporters of a seven-point statement on national reconciliation, which has been issued by the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said it will take time to study it.

"But I would like to point out already now that concretizing its approach to the national reconciliation process and filling it with real contents, Phnom Penh demonstrates a constructive spirit and the political will to expedite the resolution of the Kampuchea issue.

"It is the Soviet Union's conviction that the leadership of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is entitled to expect adequate steps from the other sides interested in getting the conflict settled as well," Perfilyev said.

EEC-USSR Consultations Close in Brussels

LD0411175188 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Brussels November 4 TASS—The first consultations on problems related to the drafting of a USSR-EEC agreement were concluded here today. The Soviet delegation was led by I. Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the delegation of the European Communities Commission by general director of the commission's chief foreign relations board Horst Krenzler.

The sides discussed a range of questions that could be reflected in the agreement between the USSR and the European Economic Community. Possible areas of cooperation. The Soviet delegation outlined the principal trends of the economic reforms in the USSR, stressed the importance which external trade would play in their implementation.

The issued communique notes that the consultations had proceeded in an open and constructive atmosphere. Contacts between the two delegations will be continued.

Analyst Views Development of EEC Ties

LD0511215488 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov writes:

First consultations of delegations of the USSR and the Commission of European Communities on the matters of working out an agreement between the Soviet Union and the European Economic Community were held in the Belgian capital. The sides discussed possible directions in the area of cooperation. It was decided to continue the consultations, which were held in an open and constructive atmosphere. After they are concluded, official negotiations will be held. An agreement on bilateral cooperation is planned to be signed on their results.

The establishment of business contacts between the USSR and the EEC began immediately after a joint statement of CMEA and the EEC on mutual recognition and establishment of cooperation was signed in Luxembourg last June. The procedure of the establishment of diplomatic relations of CMEA member countries with the European Economic Community was an initial direct result of that document. Diplomatic missions of CMEA member countries, also of the Soviet Union, are expected to be opened in Brussels at the EEC in the foreseeable future.

The signing of an agreement on business cooperation will be the subsequent step in the development of relations between the USSR and the EEC. Both sides have already declared in principle for a broad approach to such an agreement, deciding not to restrict it to the commercial and economic area.

It is quite apparent that the establishment of relations between CMEA and the EEC will help member countries of the two economic associations to resolve their own problems, which are numerous. For instance, it is hoped in Western Europe that commercial and economic cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries will enable the EEC to arrest the process of the lowering of the rates of economic development, to reduce the unemployment rate, get rid of deficits in state budgets, etc. It is hoped in the CMEA countries that the intensification of the commercial exchange with Western Europe based on equality, mutual advantage, refusal from any kind of discriminations will help implement the planned reforms.

Integrational processes now taking place both in CMEA and the EEC are to ensure the linkage between the two international organisations and their member countries. The more so since the problems of the economy, transport, power, ecology, the health services increasingly assume European proportions. It is only by joint efforts that these problems can be effectively resolved. This precisely creates the prerequisites for European processes of integration the advantages from which will apparently be mutual.

In this connection, apparently, there is every ground to say that more integrated economic structures will be shaping in future in CMEA and the EEC which would help achieve utmost interaction and mutual influence on the basis of cooperation. It will be necessary for both countries to strive to ensure compatibility of economic fabric of this complex of mutual relations, so that it should be a highly developed mechanism. These joint efforts in integration would apparently consolidate the laying out of a "common European home" and would enable it to meet with greater boldness the challenges of the present and the future.

U.S. Delegation Visits Forces in Germany

PM0711132988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at Group of Soviet Forces in Germany Headquarters"]

[Text] On 1 November this year at the invitation of Army General B.V. Snetkov, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG], a U.S.

military delegation led by General Crosby E. Saint, commander in chief of the U.S. Ground Forces in Europe, visited GSFG headquarters. This visit is part of the program of military contacts between the USSR and the United States agreed on by the chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff in July 1988.

During the visit a conversation took place between the commanders in chief of GSFG and the U.S. Ground Forces in Europe. B.V. Snetkov and C.E. Saint noted the importance of restoring contacts between the GSFG and the U.S. Ground Forces in Europe. A lively conversation took place on the activity of military liaison missions accredited to the commanders in chief in accordance with the 1947 "Khyubner [name as published]-Malinin" Agreement. The commanders in chief confirmed the importance of fulfilling the provisions of this agreement and noted the role of military liaison missions in maintaining contacts, developing mutual understanding, and strengthening trust between the GSFG and the U.S. Ground Forces in Europe. They discussed measures directed at averting incidents involving Soviet and U.S. servicemen. The commanders in chief also agreed in principle with the plan for further contacts between the GSFG and the U.S. Ground Forces in Europe, including a reciprocal visit by the GSFG commander in chief to Heidelberg in June 1989.

Lieutenant General V.I. Fursin, GSFG chief of staff, and R.S. Kem, chief of staff of the U.S. Ground Forces in Europe, and other generals and officers were present during the conversation.

The U.S. military delegation visited the motorized infantry regiment where it became acquainted with Soviet soldiers' life, living conditions, and combat training, toured a GSFG Museum of Combat Glory exhibition, and laid flowers in the museum's memorial hall. After a concert by the GSFG song and dance ensemble in the garrison House of Officers, a dinner was given in C.E. Saint's honor.

The meeting took place in a businesslike and convivial atmosphere.

The visit ended with an official sendoff ceremony, a guard of honor was drawn up, and the U.S. and Soviet state anthems were played.

NATO Plan for Greenland Air Base Criticized

PM0311135188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by M. Zubko under the rubric "What Kind of Fact Is This": "One More U.S. Base in Greenland"]

[Text] Fact: NATO headquarters, according to reports from Copenhagen, is studying the question of constructing a new U.S. Air Force base on the east coast of Greenland. Let us clarify the location. Greenland—an overseas province of Denmark with limited self-government—has long been used by the Pentagon for military purposes. High in the Arctic zone—on the northwest coast of the ice-bound island—at Thule there is a U.S. strategic air base (one of the biggest outside the United States), whose aircraft patrol the airspace over the North Atlantic and the Arctic Ocean around the clock. A second U.S. Air Force base is located a great deal further south—in Sondre Stromfjord. And there are many other military facilities on the island, in particular the "Dew Line" early warning stations.

The United States and NATO want to construct a new base on the east coast in the hamlet of Mesters Vig, on the site of the existing small air field there. The aim? The facility is to perform the role of reserve airstrip for U.S. military aircraft stationed in Iceland and also those operating in the North Atlantic.

All the indications are that the question is being studied seriously. LAND OG FOLK cites a conversation with Jorgen Wahl, a ranking official of the Danish Defense Ministry, who admitted that the NATO committee concerned with infrastructure questions is studying the question of constructing a new base.

How should these actions by the United States and NATO be assessed? I think that this is one of the North Atlantic bloc's responses to the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, which, so NATO strategists claim, disrupts the balance of forces in Europe, given the Warsaw Pact countries' continuing "edge" in conventional arms. Do you remember? In Washington and Brussels there were repeated demands for compensation for this disruption, particularly via an increase in air- and sea-launched cruise missiles in the North Atlantic.

Somehow none of this makes sense.... On the one hand, we see a thaw in relations between the USSR and the United States in the military sphere. It is a question not only of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles but also of establishing contacts between defense ministries and of increased openness in questions of reciprocal visits to facilities which were previously closed. There are also contacts planned between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. And what about on the other hand? On the other hand, everything is proceeding in a different direction.

It is not just Greenland which can serve as confirmation. A report came in from Norway literally a few days ago that the United States is holding talks with the Norwegian authorities about constructing on the country's seaboard supply and repair posts for U.S. Navy aircraft carriers.

The well known Murmansk initiatives contained the proposal to begin consultations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on reducing military activity and limiting the scale of air force and naval activity in the areas of the Baltic, North, Norwegian, and Greenland Seas, and also extending confidence-building measures to them. The plans for constructing a new airbase in Greenland in no way testify that Washington and Brussels are also in favor of a thaw in these northern seas.

Environmental Conference Meets in Sofia

LD0111134488 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia November 1 TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Stepanenko reports:

Vitallly important issues concerning environment protection are under consideration at the sixth session of the executive body (which functions within the framework of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe) of the convention on long-range transboundary air pollution.

The session began here on Monday and is being attended by representatives of a majority of European countries, the United States and Canada, and a number of international and regional organizations.

Present at the session are government ministers and leaders of state bodies responsible for environment protection. The Soviet delegation is led by V.G. Sokolovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Conservation of Nature.

A message of greetings to the participants in the forum from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of Bulgaria's Council of State, was read out.

"We are unanimous that environmental pollution knows no state borders", the message points out. "The people and governments of all countries not without reason are worried over the deterioration of the ecological situation in the world. Joint efforts of all countries and peoples are necessary for our common home—planet earth—to become ecologically pure. At a time when a new political thinking is being asserted, the need for U.N. member nations to take urgent, effective and coordinated measures with the utilisation of the achievements of science and technological progress becomes increasingly clear."

In this connection the Bulgarian leader emphasized the importance of the document "The Consequences of the Arms Race for the Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security" with which the Warsaw Treaty member states addressed all governments and peoples in July this year.

The signing of a protocol, which will envisage measures to limit the pollution of air with nitrogen oxides, is expected to become the central event of the session. The discharges of this substance by industrial enterprises, thermal power stations and motor vehicles entail "acid rains" and the origination of the ruinous "greenhouse effect" in the atmosphere and are hazardous to the living organisms.

The participants in the session will also discuss the latest data on the scope of damage done to agricultural crops as a result of atmospheric pollution and on its negative effect on the water medium in the Baltic, Mediterranean and North Seas, and other matters.

Weekly Review on Bloc Sessions, Israel

PM0711150788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Vladimir Peresada "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] All of progressive mankind will join us in celebrating the Great October's 71st anniversary tomorrow. This happens on every anniversary, since we have very many friends abroad.

Over the past few years, however, interest in—and even more so, sympathy for—the world's first socialist state has been displayed even by circles where mistrust and suspicion had prevailed for a very long time. The revolutionary renewal of the Land of the Soviets and its peace initiatives encourage a significant proportion of these circles not only to take a closer look at the substance of Soviet concepts but also to assess them on their merits. Could anyone have imagined, even a short while ago, that the foreign minister of Spain, a NATO country, would have uttered the following words: "The restructuring now under way in the USSR is the most important change in the second half of this century."

This is not a compliment, it is a recognition of reality. Indeed, what is it that, for example, laid the foundation for and then became the driving force of the current change for the better in international relations? The new political thinking born of restructuring. It is no accident that it is winning growing numbers of supporters and is evolving on a truly international scale. Of course, it is far from easy to achieve a swift transition from the years of confrontation to mutual understanding in the international arena: The accretions of the past are still with us, the champions of the "cold war" are still active. But the main point is that such a transition is now under way and becoming, as events prove, the determining trend of the present.

Shoots of the New Thinking

This trend was clearly noticeable last week, especially in the sphere of international economic cooperation. Proof of the steadfast desire of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to develop economic ties with the western part of Europe was provided by the results of the Moscow talks between Soviet leaders and CSSR Premier L. Adamec. Major attention was given to the fundamentally new form of such ties—between CEMA and the EEC, in other words the organization of collaboration between the two largest economic groupings on the continent.

Our readiness for broad business partnerships also yields fruit in bilateral ties. Over the past few days the foreign press has been literally flooded with reports and comments about signed or planned agreements on cooperation between Western countries, companies, and banks and the Soviet Union. "Delegations of statesmen and leading businessmen from the FRG, Italy, Austria, and other states are arriving in Moscow one after the other," the U.S. WALL STREET JOURNAL wrote. "And they depart with specific results. Private and state firms sign dozens of contracts with Soviet organizations."

But this is not to everybody's liking. The tone in the camp of opponents of the expansion of cooperation with the Soviet Union is set by the United States. The arguments that are used are the same as those used for decades past: Western credits, goods, and especially technology would supposedly boost the USSR's military might. Various prohibitions are used to dampen the initiatives of U.S. business circles striving to actively cooperate with us. In pursuit of a similar goal, the United States exerts pressure on West European countries and Japan.

The latest such attempt was made at the Paris session of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [Cocom] Executive Committee, an organization which has survived since the "cold war" times and controls exports to socialist countries (it consists of the 15 NATO states and Japan). The U.S. representative categorically asserted at the session that "the export of technology to the Eastern bloc could damage the interests of the West's defense."

But here is a typical development. For the first time in all the years of Cocom's existence, the United States was rebuffed by its formerly "obedient" partners. According to AFP, representatives of West European countries and Japan informed the Americans of their dissatisfaction over the fact that the process of reviewing the list of commodities banned for export to socialist countries is progressing very slowly, whereas some of them have even proposed ending the restrictions on the export of so-called strategic commodities to the USSR. At the same time there was sharp criticism of the new U S. trade law providing, inter alia, for sanctions against foreign companies which, in Washington's opinion, are in breach of Cocom's rules.

"In actual fact," the French newspaper LIBERATION wrote, "an anti-American front took shape at the Cocom Executive Committee session. Nowadays references to 'defense interests' are hardly likely to satisfy anyone."

Of course, the extent of these differences should not be overrated. The obstacles to trade and economic ties between West and East will not disappear overnight. It cannot be ruled out that new ones will arise. Even we, in all probability, should display more enterprise and be faster in ridding business relations of such past habits as bureaucratism, unreliability, and intransigence so as to avoid creating additional difficulties for those who cooperate or want to cooperate with us.

But the very fact of the "clash in Cocom" is highly noteworthy. And I think that the impulse for it was provided not only by the economic interests of West Europeans and Japanese but also by political motives. The changes in the USSR and our peace-loving course in the international arena are demolishing the stereotype of the "Soviet threat," and the growing sympathy for us is inevitably accompanied by mistrust of those who try to cultivate this stereotype. This, in my view, is one of the specific results of the spread of the new political thinking in the world.

Who Needs "Modernization"?

But nevertheless our Western partners find it very hard to finally abandon their old-fashioned views of the USSR. Think of the obstacles that our open and sincere policy encounters. Last week this was especially noticeable in disarmament matters.

On the one hand, there was a broad response to the results of the Budapest session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee. The statement on confidence-building measures and security and disarmament in Europe which was adopted there is perceived as a new step along this avenue, taking into account the experience in implementing the Stockholm accords and the NATO countries' expectations. Italy's Foreign Minister G. Andreotti remarked that the Warsaw Pact countries are drawing closer and closer to Western states on this issue, while H. Scheer, expert from the Social Democratic faction in the FRG Bundestag, called on the West to be prepared to substantially reduce its arms.

On the other hand, there was equally broad comment on the results of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group session, held almost concurrently in a suburb of The Hague. But the nature of the assessments and conclusions was different there. The BERLINER ZEITUNG wrote that, while the socialist countries' ministers in Budapest were concerned about advancing the cause of disarmament, the final communique of the NATO meeting shows that the efforts by its participants boiled down to erecting yet another barrier in the way of disarmament.

Let me remind readers that this session examined the question of the bloc's nuclear systems, primarily the tactical systems, in connection with the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. In principle, this is an important point—after all, following the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and in light of the prospects for concluding a new agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, short-range nuclear systems are the only variety of these deadly weapons to remain outside the scope of discussions on reductions. This is where NATO could take a constructive stance and, of its own accord, elaborate at least potential approaches to such discussions.

But the session discussed a completely different matter—the renewal of tactical nuclear systems. "The NATO military leadership," Britain's FINANCIAL TIMES wrote, "would like to close the gap which has developed following the elimination of Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe by modernizing air- and sea-launched nuclear weapons and battlefield nuclear weapons with a range of up to 500 km."

These intentions are causing alarm in a number of West European countries, especially in the FRG, where most of NATO's tactical nuclear systems are deployed. According to THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, a "shock effect" was produced at the session itself by the Belgian stance of opposition to the modernization proposals, failing for the first time to support its bloc partners. Only by "twisting the arm" of the Belgian minister did the session manage to adopt a final communique in the spirit of "alliance unity."

It must be said that, in general terms, this document's restrained approach differs from the version which, according to press reports, the United States and Britain strove to impose. The adopted formulation contains no specific decisions on modernization. But I would like to draw attention to something else. Not only has this question not been taken off the agenda, it has actually been confirmed as a long-term program point. The communique says that in the foreseeable future, NATO will need to have nuclear forces spanning the full range in Europe. In other words, tactical nuclear systems as well.

Why? Seriously, does this really correspond to the interests of West Europeans who believe, just as we do, that the level of military confrontation on the continent needs to be reduced? Of course not. The Belgian newspaper LA WALLONIE is perfectly correct in noting that "this path of escalation will only force the other camp to likewise improve its weapons." At the same time, let me add, it will undermine the potential for disarmament and the level of trust that have already developed.

We are not indifferent to any of this. During the recent Moscow talks with FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl, M.S. Gorbachev urgently drew attention to the task of further reducing nuclear weapons in Europe and emphasized the impermissibility of any modernization of these weapons or any compensation for eliminated intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles through the deployment of new nuclear systems. On the contrary, the USSR proposes that matters be taken toward the complete elimination of tactical nuclear weapons on the continent.

Elections in Israel

Elections for parliament (Knesset) were held in Israel Tuesday. Neither of the leading political groupings—the right-wing Likud bloc and the centrist Labor Party—won an absolute victory. An approximately equal number voted for each of them (according to the final results, they gained 40 and 39 seats respectively in the Knesset, which has a total of 120 deputies). Ultrareligious and extremist parties increased their representation, and this definitely reflects a certain shift to the right. At the same time there was a polarization of forces as the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, with the Communist Party at its center, consolidated its positions by winning one more seat—its fifth.

To command the number of Knesset votes required to form a government, one of the leading groups will have to form a coalition with smaller political parties. According to Israeli political observers, Likud has the best chance of reaching an agreement with the religious and extremist parties, which will decide the issue. If this happens, I think that we should expect a hardening of the government's course in many areas, above all as regards the Near East problem.

Meanwhile, a specific feature of the latest election campaign was the fact that the interparty struggle focused with unprecedented urgency on this very problem, and mainly its Palestinian aspect. The election manifestos of virtually all parties began with the question of the occupied territories.

This is understandable. The Palestinian uprising, which has been raging for almost 1 year now, has proved that the Palestinians cannot accept the conquest of their native land and that peace in the Near East is impossible without satisfaction of their legitimate rights. In Israel itself there has been a noticeable swelling of dissatisfaction with the instability and the deadlock in the situation.

It would seem that this should have given the country's main political forces an opportunity to finally display some realism—by promoting, for example, the idea of dialogue with the Palestinians and by a quest for mutually acceptable solutions in the context of an all-embracing Near East settlement. But nothing of the sort happened.

While Likud was against any territorial concessions, let alone the creation of a Palestinian state, the Labor Party also failed to put forward a serious alternative to this expansionist policy. The peace proposals of its leader, S. Peres, appeared vague and unconstructive. Moreover, this party, while holding itself out as champion of peace, actually shares responsibility for the anti-Palestinian policy with Likud. It was no accident that Tel Aviv radio noted that, on the whole, Israelis perceived the Labor Party's policy as half-hearted and hypocritical. There can be doubt that this policy only played into the right-wing forces' hands.

Unfortunately, the election results failed to provide an answer to the fundamental question posed by the Near East situation itself: When will a peace settlement process actually start moving? And there is growing concern because the task is becoming more complex: The destructive approach toward this process adopted by Likud and its potential partners is only too well known.

Bovin on Coexistence as 'Highest Principle'

PM0711142588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by political observer A. Bovin: "October and Peaceful Coexistence"]

[Text] All great revolutions have been accompanied by great illusions.

The people who prepared the October uprising and who led it believed that they were starting a world proletarian revolution. "We knew then," V.I. Lenin said 6 November 1920, "that our victory would only be lasting when our cause conquered the entire world, because we had begun our cause counting exclusively on a world revolution." Lenin returned to the same subject at the Third Comintern Congress: "It was clear to us that without the support of an international world revolution, the victory of the proletarian revolution would be impossible."

However, as often happens, history turned out to be "smarter" than theory. The "international world revolution" did not happen. Nonetheless, contrary to all forecasts, the revolutionary power in Russia stood firm. An improbable and, for the time, inconceivable situation emerged: The socialist republic won the "right to exist" in capitalist surroundings.

What today, 70 years later, seems natural and straightforward was seen then, in the early postrevolutionary years, as a challenge to "common sense" and a paradox incompatible with either proletarian or bourgeois ideology. It needed Lenin's creative genius and his theoretical fearlessness to ensure that what was seen as a "miracle" formed the basis of a rational policy and long-term strategy. Thus was born the idea of "peaceful coexistence" between states belonging to different socioeconomic systems. In terms of its importance and inherent radicalism, this idea, this step in developing revolutionary theory—a step toward peaceful cooperation with a social antagonist—was comparable, if one does not forget the conditional nature of all analogies and metaphors, to the revolution which took place in Copernicus' vision of the world. It was a qualitative turning point in 20th century political thinking.

This turning point took place painfully, in scathing clashes between different opinions and different authorities. Certain Comintern circles seriously discussed the "right to Red intervention." Many communists viewed "peaceful coexistence" exclusively within the framework of political tactics. I would cite a typical statement by M.V. Frunze: "There can only be one condition between our proletarian state and all the rest of the bourgeois world: a long, dogged, desperate war to the death, a war that will require colossal endurance, discipline, firmness, inflexibility, and unity of will. The external form of these relations may change, depending on changing conditions and the course of the struggle; the state of open war may give way to some form of treaty relations allowing a certain amount of peaceful collaboration. But these treaty forms cannot change the fundamental nature of mutual relations. And we must be quite clearly aware and openly admit that parallel coexistence between our proletarian Soviet state and the states of the bourgeois-capitalist world is impossible in the long term."

Frunze's words are extremely interesting and instructive as a testimony and indicator of the critical state of people's thinking. On the one hand, he is already mentioning the possibility of a "certain peaceful collaboration" and "parallel existence" while, on the other, the main, decisive, determining policy remains the other possibility of a "long" and "desperate" war. This was how Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence was asserted in the public consciousness—not immediately, in a flash of insight, but through hesitation, dispute, and doubt. Paraphrasing Lenin, it can be said that Soviet Russia truly "struggled" to achieve peaceful coexistence, it "struggled" to achieve it in fierce clashes with the counterrevolution, in acute intraparty debate, and in the confrontation between innovation and realism on the one hand and stagnation and illusion on the other.

World War II, its sociopolitical results, and the revolutionary shifts in the scientific and technical sphere changed the world in the most decisive way. Socialism in its various manifestations became an accustomed and firmly established feature of the world political and ideological landscape. The transformation of capitalism began: Market forces were restricted, and with them the destructive force of cyclical crises; real income growth and the creation of a developed social infrastructure considerably improved the position of the working class and working people; the class structure of capitalist society became more complex and less polarized; and the sharpness of the class struggle was dulled. Dozens of independent states—the so-called "Third World"—grew up on the ruins of colonialism.

Changes in the social picture of the world influence the entire system of international relations in the most direct way. This system has now become far more complex, dynamic, and fraught with the threat of unexpected collisions, clashes, and explosions. Qualitative changes have been superimposed on these quantitative shifts. In the second half of the 20th century mankind has acquired at least two technical ways of committing suicide. First, an all-out nuclear war would be suicidal. The forecast "nuclear winter" effect has deprived the optimists of their last refuge. Second, we are getting ever closer to the point at which man-made pressure on the biosphere will lead to a destructive chain reaction and irreversible changes for mankind.

One could argue whether civilization is in the run-up to a crisis or is already experiencing one. But it is indisputable that people and the world community have no more urgent task than to survive and preserve civilization. The search for a solution to this task has led to our era's second turning point in the history of political thinking and to the appearance of what has come to be known as new political thinking. Certain elements and fragments of that thinking accumulated during several of the "nuclear" decades, but it is only in the second half of the eighties that the Soviet leadership has provided an extensive concept of new political thinking and—this is the main point!—made it the basis of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

Under the conditions of the buildup and exacerbation of global problems and the continuing changes in all the main sectors of civilization (socialism, capitalism, and the "Third World") the idea of peaceful coexistence born of October is getting its second wind, being suffused with new substance, and expanding both the temporal and physical bounds of its application.

Since a head-on clash between socialism and capitalism would inevitably lead to the destruction of both systems and all mankind, there is no sensible alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence. This is no longer just the most desirable policy, but the only possible, the only justifiable, the absolutely essential policy. Having emerged as a regulator of mutual relations between states with different social systems, peaceful coexistence has gradually "won over" the entire political universe—it has started regulating relations between states irrespective of their systems; that is, it has become the highest, universal principle of interstate relations.

If joint, parallel existence between capitalism and socialism extends beyond the visible historical horizon and if this existence is to be solely and exclusively peaceful, the relative importance of ideological grounds in formulating policy can be substantially reduced. Conversely, the proportion of healthy pragmatism and compromise decisions based on mutual concessions can increase.

This does not mean that the age of ideology is over. Ideologies largely determine and will continue to determine sympathies and antipathies, choices of and support for allies and friends. However, new political thinking proceeds on the basis of the possibility of giving primary importance to the demands of actual state interests—above all, the interests of preserving peace.

If the dangers hanging over people and society are global in nature and if they threaten all social groups and all classes equally, the struggle against such dangers unites the interests and efforts of all groups and classes. This brings common human values and interests to the forefront of world politics and requires that all other interests take second place.

Needless to say, classes, the class struggle, and social antagonisms are not disappearing. Nor is the class dimension to world politics. It is also obvious that each class strives to exploit peaceful coexistence to strengthen its own positions and to safeguard its own ideas about the ideal society. But since all of us—communists and capitalists—need "simply" to survive in order to continue the argument about ideals, common human interests and goals cannot fail to take priority.

If the system of international relations becomes increasingly complex and flexible, and if it has to function under peaceful circumstances, then there is an urgent need to enhance the role and importance of international law and international organizations—that is, the entire mechanism which can facilitate the intelligent management of international relations.

In themselves and in their abstract and theoretical form, the ideas of universal peace and democratic principles for international life (nonaggression, noninterference, respect for sovereignty, and so forth) which form the core of peaceful coexistence are far older than October. But it was only after October and under the influence of October that the social environment in which the aforesaid principles began to be suffused with real substance started to take shape. As has the history of international relations since then—in particular, the history of the development and enrichment of the concept of peaceful coexistence.

Recognition of the fact that socialism can live in peace with capitalism was already a revolution in political thinking. Now the next step has been taken—capitalism **must** live in peace with socialism. Between "can" and "must" lies the nuclear abyss. How can we avoid it? How can we eliminate it? The new political thinking has the answer to these questions. The answer is peaceful coexistence. But not only in the shape of the absence of war. Peaceful coexistence as a policy of constructive cooperation and collaboration among all states. Peaceful coexistence as a program for the democratization, demilitarization, and humanization of the entire system of international relations.

Returning to genuine revolutionary values and cleansing socialism of the deformations of its establishment period, our party is continuing the line of October aimed at the renewal and restructuring of civilization and the universal assertion of lasting peace, justice, and equality.

United States & Canada

Reportage, Commentary on U.S. Election Results

Solton Previews Elections

LD0811125988 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] The course of the American ship is not likely to be changed crucially, particularly in international affairs, whoever becomes the tenant of the White House. This conclusion can be made after analyzing the election platforms of both contenders. There is a difference in minor issues but as regards the main questions their stands are virtually identical. Both George Bush and Michael Dukakis cannot fail to take into account the positive changes on the world scene and sentiments of the American public, which calls increasingly loudly for establishing stable and predictable ties between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The presidential race that began many months ago has revealed a trend towards maintaining continuance in international affairs. Both Bush and Dukakis welcomed the Soviet-American treaty on eliminating intermediate-range nuclear missiles and called for searching for ways to reduce other armaments. Moscow has noted statements by the presidential candidates that it is desirable to maintain the practice of regular Soviet-American summit meetings designed to discuss the key problems in bilateral relations and world politics. The fact that the intention to promote the Soviet-American political dialogue enjoys widespread bipartisan support can only be welcomed. The Soviet Union is more than willing, though Moscow doesn't expect this dialogue to progress smoothly without a hitch.

Both candidates, mindful of the conservative circles, persist in stating that they are in favor of building up America's military power and holding talks with the USSR, basing on the position of strength. But what matters most is that the dialogue must go on without interruption because too much depends in the world on the development of Soviet-American relations. The realism displayed by the Reagan administration in recent years and the Soviet leadership's innovatory approaches to resolving complex problems have made confrontation recede and enabled the two sides to start genuine disarmament. So let's hope that the United States, together with the Soviet Union and other countries, will continue to search for the ways to ease tensions and promote the process of disarmament.

TASS Notes Bush Victory

LD0911071988 Moscow TASS in English 0714 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 9 TASS—President Reagan telephoned his congratulations to President-elect George Bush, in Houston, Texas, late on Tuesday.

According to the ABC television network, the election returns at 11.40 p.m. Washington time (7.40 a.m. Moscow time) were 327 electoral votes for Bush and 108 votes for Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis.

In his speech in Boston, Dukakis officially conceded defeat.

Bush will leave Houston for Washington later today to meet with Reagan at the White House.

Answering questions by newsmen, Bush said he would begin formation of the new administration tomorrow.

World Service on Bush Win

LD0911074188 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] George Bush, the Republican Party nominee and the present vice-president, has won the presidential elections in the United States. This means that George Bush will be inaugurated the 41st president of the United States on 20 January. The Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis suffered a defeat.

Observers note that the electors' decision was influenced by many factors, first and foremost by the improvement in the national economy which took place lately under the current administration, reduction of the inflation, and the number of jobless. In the course of the election campaign George Bush promised to follow President Reagan's course both in home affairs and foreign policy including relations with the USSR.

The American's approval of the INF Treaty concluded with the Soviet Union, the positive results achieved in settling regional conflicts tipped the scales in Bush's favor. At the same time, in his speeches Bush noted that he will follow a foreign policy course based on strength—to the liking of many in the United States. On this background, the Republicans managed to picture Dukakis as a weakling and as a liberal and predestined the outcome of the elections.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the understanding that a dialogue between the two nations will be continued with a new administration in the interest of nuclear disarmament and world peace.

Solton on Bush Victory, Policy

LD0911094688 Moscow World Service in English 0910 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] As you may have heard in the news, at the presidential elections in the United States on Tuesday the republican candidate, George Bush, has gained victory. Now an analysis from our commentator, Yuriy Solton. This is what he writes.

George Bush is a sophisticated politician. For quite a few years he has been playing a noticeable role in the upper echelons of power, which was of considerable help for him to win the elections against a less experienced Democrat, Michael Dukakis. As a vice president George Bush was involved in many important decisions that set the line of the Reagan administration. And so there is reason to speak of a continuity in politics. I believe, writes Yuriy Solton, this was a contributing factor to the election victory of George Bush.

Under Reagan there has been some improvement in the United States economy; a drop in inflation and unemployment. A treaty was signed with the Soviet Union to eliminate medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. A decision in principle was also made to cut by half the stategic offensive weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States. It is true, though, that an appropriate agreement has not been signed yet.

It is notable that in the foreign policy program of George Bush one can find a mixture of contradictory sober judgments and biased assessments in the spirit of the past. George Bush hails the Soviet-American INF Treaty but also declares that he won't permit a cut in military spending. He says he would like to have biological and chemical weapons destroyed worldwide, but at the same time he promises to the Americans to deploy arms in space under the Star Wars program. The president-elect regards a political dialogue as important, but he warns he will be conducting it from a position of strength. The future will show whether these are just words uttered in the heat of the election struggle, or whether these are true intentions.

Attention has been paid in Moscow to statements by George Bush about the prospects for the development of Soviet-American relations. He said he was ready to have a meeting with the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, in the nearest future in order to start a serious and direct dialogue to consider issues about what the positions of the USSR and of the United States were and about the ways it would be best to advance to advance a further reduction in armaments in reducing tension in various regions, and building lasting peace.

Well, a desire to keep up the practice of regular Soviet-American meetings, including (?summits), can only be welcomed. It is realized in Moscow that too much of the world depends on the state of Soviet-American relations, and for this reason there is a desire for continuity here. Moscow proceeds from the assumption that the realism shown by the Reagan administration in the last few years of its stay in office and the innovatory approaches by the Soviet leadership to tackling complicated problems have brought about a departure from confrontation and have made it possible to start a process of real disarmament.

I would like to hope, writes our commentator Yuriy Solon in conclusion, that in the future too the United States will join the Soviet Union and other countries in a search for ways to reduce tension, to carry on the process of disarmament.

TASS on Future Bush Policy

LD0911081288 Moscow TASS in English 0808 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 9 TASS— By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatiyev and Oleg Polyakovskiy:

According to unofficial data, presidential nominee from the Republican Party George Bush has won the general election which ended in the United States. According to American TV companies, he enlisted the support of more than 270 members of the electoral college and will be sworn in as the 41st president of the country on January 20. His running mate Senator Dan Quayle will become a new vice president.

In the course of the election campaign, George Herbert Walker Bush, 64, committed himself to the policy of the current incumbent of the White House, Ronald Reagan. Bush has been his vice president in the past eight years which led the NBC TV company to attribute Bush's success to this fact. The majority of American voters are satisfied with the presidency of Reagan, who managed to cut unemployment in the country to the lowest level in the past 14 years and to curb inflation by bringing its level to 4 per cent a year. Under Reagan the first Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons was concluded and way was open to agreement on halving the strategic arsenals of the USSR and USA. The American voter preferred the current peace and prosperity to the uncertainty of Michael Dukakis, well-known American news analyst Mark Shields told TASS. In actual fact, he said, the voters voted for the Reagan policy to continue another four years. But George Bush did not receive his own mandate.

That circumstance, Mark Shields and other local news analysts believe, promises to become a problem for George Bush. Another serious problem facing the new occupants of the White House is that he would be compared with the predecessor, whose presidency, despite problems and political scandals including the Iran-Contra affair, is widely believed to have been successful in the past 15-20 years.

The current vice president declares for reducing strategic arsenals while negotiating with the USSR from the position of strength, for banning chemical and biological weapons, for strengthening NATO and upgrading nuclear forces, including the deployment of MX and Midgetman missiles, for continuing the Star Wars programme.

Bush supports giving military aid to the anti-Nicaraguan Contras and unconditional support for Israel. During the election campaign he favored reducing exorbitant deficits of the U.S. federal budget, which often exceeded 200 billion dollars a year under Reagan, but avoided to talk about ways of combatting the deficits. Bush, however, stated that he would not agree to increasing taxes. He promised to clear America of narcotics, to combat crime, to upgrade the system of education, to ensure further growth of employment.

Preliminary data on the results of elections to the U.S. Congress, where all 435 members of the House and a third of the Senate are up for election, continue to arrive. According to the data available by 11 hours Washington time (7 hours Moscow time) the Democrats won 12 places in the Senate and were leading in the contest for another six places. The Republicans won five places and led in the contest for four places in the Senate.

Since Senator Dan Quayle, of Indiana, was elected vice president, his place in the Senate becomes vacant. Under the existing rules, this vacancy must be filled in by the newly elected governor from the Indiana State. According to the preliminary data, the Democrats won 136 places in the house and lead in the contest for 72 places, the Republicans so far won 82 places and lead in the struggle for 55 places.

Moscow 'Welcomes' Continuity

LD0911081688 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Excerpts] The Republican candidate, George Bush, has won the presidential election in the United States. [passage omitted]

During the election campaign the 64-year-old Bush pledged to continue the policies of Ronald Reagan. Observers find that he owes his victory to the fact that he held the post of vice president.

A Radio Moscow observer notes that Moscow welcomes continuity of the administration. Realism shown by Reagan's team in the recent years and the new approach of the Soviet leadership to the solution of complicated problems have eased the confrontation and permitted to begin the process of real disarmament. There is hope that in future the United States and the Soviet Union, together with other nations, will seek to defuse tension and continue the process of disarmament.

'Satisfaction' With Results

LD0911105488 Moscow TASS in English 1045 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 9 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

George Bush has been elected U.S. President. According to preliminary data, he enlisted the support of 300-odd members of the Electoral College which gives him a convincing win over the Democratic candidate, Michael Dukakis.

The Soviet Union welcomes the election of the new U.S. President and proceeds from the fact that elections in any country are, first and foremost, the internal affair of any nation. In this connection it was stated with satisfaction here that, according to public opinion polls, American voters voted for continuing the Soviet-U.S. talks in the field of disarmament, for extending cooperation and contacts between the Soviet Union and the USA in different spheres.

Moscow, naturally, paid attention to the fact that Soviet-U.S. relations occupied an important place in the election campaign of the 41st president. Speaking on November 1 at the University of Notre Dame, George Bush stressed that the relations between the two great powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—had entered into a new, very important stage, that considerable progress had been achieved in those relations recently. In one of his election speeches, George Bush stated the intention of his administration to seek, if elected, a new meeting between the U.S. secretary of state and the Soviet foreign minister to discuss the entire range of Soviet-U.S. issues, and to hold another Soviet-U.S. summit meeting as soon as possible.

On the day of the election the current U.S. state secretary, George Shultz, said that, no matter who becomes the next U.S. president, the future American Administration should approach its relations with the Soviet Union from practical positions and seek a joint solution to problems.

Such an approach can be viewed as evidence that Washington wants to develop further relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of the positive experience that has been accumulated in the past few years of Ronald Reagan's presidency. This gives rise to hopes that the process of nuclear disarmament, which was started by the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty, of strengthening international security and unblocking international conflicts, as well as fostering the climate of trust and cooperation in the world, will be developed. The people of the Soviet Union, the USA and other countries in the world are vitally interested in this.

Democrats Retain Congress

LD0911082688 Moscow TASS in English 0820 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 9 TASS—As a result of the Tuesday general elections in the United States, the U.S. Democratic Party retained control over the two houses of the top legislative body of the country.

So, opposition between the Republican administration and the Democrats-controlled Congress will continue in Washington in the coming years.

The House of Representatives was elected anew and the U.S. Senate was renewed by one-third during the elections which also saw the incumbent vice-president, George Bush, elected new president of the country.

TASS on Gubernatorial Races

LD0911054488 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 9 TASS—The first results of the elections of U.S. governors have become known. The ABC Television Network reported that Democrat Madeleine Kunin (Vermont) has retained her post as a governor.

Republican Judd Gregg won in New Hampshire where the vacant seat of former Republican governor was contested.

The elections of governors are being held in twelve states of the country. THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper points out that this year's elections are particularly important because in all but three states governors are being elected for four years and will play an important role when the boundaries of electoral districts will be revised in 1990.

Shultz Cited on Future of U.S.-Soviet Relations

LD0811214588 Moscow TASS in English 2113 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 9 (TASS)—No matter who is elected next President of the United States, the U.S. Administration should approach the relations with the Soviet Union from practical positions and should be striving for joint solution of problems when this suits U.S. interests. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said this on Tuesday [9 November].

Addressing representatives of youth organizations on the day of presidential elections in the USA, the head of the U.S. foreign policy department noted that in a dialogue with the Soviet Union the new leadership of the United States will be on realistic but on the same time pragmatic positions. Shultz emphasized that everyone should be aware of a vast danger posed by the existence of intercontinental ballistic missiles and chemical weapons.

The U.S. secretary of state spoke highly of democratic transformations made in the USSR. He said it is a merit of the current Soviet leadership that it has recognized the existence of problems and makes efforts to solve them.

Gerasimov on Bush, Dukakis Consensus on Summits

PM0811132788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] The development of the political dialogue between the USSR and the United States must continue without artificial pauses and must be continuous. This meets the interests of disarmament, the creation of more secure and predictable relations between the two countries, and the solution of present-day global problems.

That was how G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry information administration, commented on G. Bush's speech in Indiana during a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists 2 November. It is reported, he said, that if he is elected President of the United States he will be "ready to meet" with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, "at the earliest possible time."

It should be borne in mind, of course, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted, that this isn't the first time that Bush has made a statement on the desirability of retaining the practice of regular Soviet-U.S. summits to discuss the crucial problems of relations between our countries and questions of international policy. M. Dukakis, the Democratic contender, has also spoken in the same vein. The Soviet Union notes with satisfaction that the line of developing political dialogue between the USSR and the United States, including at summit level, enjoys broad bipartisan support in the United States. It was stressed that the practice of summit meetings would be of decisive significance for the further progressive development of dialogue in the spirit of constructive continuity.

Soviet-U.S. contacts also formed the theme of a report on the 1 November meeting between Army General B.V. Snetkov, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, and General Crosby E. Saint, commander in chief of the U.S. ground forces, Europe. It was held in a businesslike and amicable atmosphere. We believe, G.I. Gerasimov noted, that military contacts in the mainstream of the Soviet-U.S. top level dialogue are conducive to better mutual understanding and the strengthening of confidence between the two countries.

Shevardnadze Meets Jewish Congress President
PM0811143588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks at the USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, received E. Bronfman, eminent representative of U.S. business circles, head of the Seagram Corporation, and president of the World Jewish Congress—who is in Moscow—at the latter's request 2 November.

E. Bronfman noted that broad U.S. public circles increasingly have a positive perception of the restructuring and democratization processes taking place in the USSR. He expressed the World Jewish Congress' intention to promote the positive development of East-West relations and step up the search for ways of settling regional conflicts, above all in the Near East.

The Soviet side stressed that the current international situation is increasingly typified by the assertion of new political thinking and the transition to collective methods of resolving global problems. At the same time, it was pointed out that a tense situation persists in a number of parts of the world, despite the efforts being made to resolve regional conflicts.

This applies in particular to the Near East, where the situation cannot fail to arouse universal concern. There is a broad consensus within the world community in favor of achieving peace as quickly as possible in this region by convening an international conference with the participation of UN Security Council permanent members and the direct participants in the conflict. It is necessary to step up the process of preparing for such a conference and to bring the world community's potential into play. A useful role in this could be played by the idea of creating a preparatory committee for convening the conference, which is now receiving growing support. It is now Israel's position that will decide whether the process of reaching a settlement in the Near East will become a reality, which accords with the fundamental interests of all the peoples of the region.

As for the Soviet Union, it is prepared to make its contribution and to continue contacts with all interested parties—including Israel—with a view to putting a Near East settlement into practice.

At his interlocutor's request E.A. Shevardnadze gave detailed explanations about the real state of affairs on issues such as emigration from the USSR—including Jewish emigration—freedom of worship, and cultural enlightenment activity. It was pointed out that within the framework of the building of a socialist rule-of-law state due attention is being devoted to the entire range of issues of interethnic relations.

E. Bronfman expressed gratitude for these explanations.

China

PRC Conference Focuses on Food Production
PM0811143388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Countryside's Problems Discussed"]

[Text] Beijing, 3 Nov—An all-China working conference on agriculture convened by the CPC Central Committee and the PRC State Council has begun here.

Opening it, Li Peng, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and premier of the PRC State Council, stressed the vital significance of successfully developing agricultural production and increasing the production of agricultural output in order to improve the economic situation within the country.

A report delivered by Tian Jiyun, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo, to the participants in the conference noted the problems in this sector of the economy, primarily the question of grain production.

TASS Notes DPRK-PRC Foreign Ministry Talks
LD0411111588 Moscow TASS in English 0804 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Beijing November 4 TASS—Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China Qian Qichen has held in Beijing a reception in honour of Kim Yong-nam, deputy premier of the Administration Council, foreign minister of the DPRK.

The People's Republic of China and the DPRK are engaged in socialist construction, proceeding from their concrete conditions, and are working for national unification, supporting and assisting each other, said at the reception the foreign minister of the People's Republic of China.

The Communist Party and the Government of China, said Qian Qichen, invariably support the efforts of the Workers' Party of Korea and the DPRK Government aimed at practical implementation of the principles of peaceful and independent unificaiton of the country. Relaxation of tension in the Korean peninsula will not only create the necessary conditions for that, but will help maintain peace and stability in Asia and the whole world.

Kim Yong-nam highly assessed China's efforts aimed at unification of the country and socialist modernisation.

The newspaper RENMIN RIBAO reports today that deputy premier of the Administration Council, foreign minister of the DPRK Kim Yong-nam is visiting Beijing at the invitation of Qian Qichen. In the course of the visit an exchange of opinions will be held on questions of bilateral relations and matters of mutual interest.

PRC Wants Normalization of USSR Relations

PM0811143788 Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Nov 88 p 1

[TASS report: "Genscher's Statement"]

[Text] Bonn, 3 Nov—The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations accords with the interests of the entire international community and strengthens stability in the world, FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher declared in an interview for the West German radio station Westdeutscher Rundfunk on concluding a visit to the PRC.

During the talks, he emphasized, the Chinese side stated quite definitely its desire to normalize relations with the Soviet Union. The FRG and China, the minister continued, were unanimous that the policy of openness pursued by the Soviet leadership helps to improve international relations.

The PRC foreign minister, H.-D. Genscher mentioned, will visit Moscow this year, while his Soviet colleague will pay a return visit to Beijing at the beginning of 1989.

Commentary Views Normalization of PRC Ties

OW0711033688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin1400 GMT 31 Oct 88

[Lebedev commentary]

[Text] The Chinese press comprehensively discusses questions concerning normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. An article in the LIAOWANG journal points out that most Chinese people want complete normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China. The article says that normalization of the relations between the two countries will no doubt play an important role in eliminating factors of instability in the region and protecting peace in the world. I completely agree with this view. I think that it is also true that most Soviet people hope to see completely normal relations and goodneighborliness between the Soviet Union and China. This is because the man-made wall long separating the two great neighboring peoples is indeed a very abnormal phenomenon.

Times have changed. Both Moscow and Beijing are obviously pursuing a policy of normalization. Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk speech reflected the new level of the Soviet-Chinese relations in recent years. The two sides have been actively conducting dialogues with each other, including serious discussions on major foreign policy questions and boundary issues. Not long ago, the two countries began consultations on the Cambodia issue over which the two sides still have great differences. In this situation, we may say that the word separation has become outdated and no longer applicable to the present Soviet-Chinese relations. Today, the two countries have been able to discuss both their identical views and differences on certain questions. This is entirely a matter of course.

The increase in common grounds and the enhancement of friendship and trust between the two countries are beneficial to peace and to the people in Asia. I think that in their dealings with major international issues, there are more things that unite the two countries than the factors that separate them. For instance, the Soviet Union and China hold either identical or similar positions on such issues as the arms race, nuclear disarmament, prevention of militarization of space, and establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

The two countries have made great progress in developing their relations. A task at present is to completely normalize the relations between the two socialist powers. On this road, the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting will become an important milestone. As everyone knows, the preparations for the summit have begun.

Ivanov Commentary on Soviet Foreign Policy

OW0411130388 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 26 Oct 88

[From "The World Today"; commentary by Ivanov entitled: "Socialist Countries Coordinate With Each Other in the Campaign for Peace, Security, and Disarmament"]

[Text] Dear friends, in compliance with traditions, the Soviet Union issued the CPSU Central Committee's letter of appeal commemorating the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which reflected the main directions of the Soviet domestic and foreign policies. Of this our station's commentator writes:

The main direction of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, in the past as well as at present, is to cooperate and interact with socialist countries in the campaign for peace, security, and disarmament. The CPSU Central Committee's letter of appeal to socialist countries [words indistinct] reiterates our country and party's adherence to this line.

The Asia-Pacific region plays an increasingly important role in world affairs. That in turn means the interaction among socialist countries in the region becomes more and more significant.

In his Krasnoyarsk speech, Mikhail S. Gorbachev pointed out: We now have a more clear perception of the urgent and long-term missions in connection with our mutual cooperation. We are to accomplish these missions together under a situation favorable to each country and friendly countries.

While presenting a new proposal aimed at strengthening peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region, the Soviet Union, of course, expected active support from other socialist countries. Their support to the Soviet Union no doubt will help the materialization of the Soviet leader's 1986 Vladivostok proposal and recent Krasnoyarsk proposal.

In a talk during an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union at the end of last month by Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, it was pointed out that it was necessary to steadfastly strengthen the concerted effort between the Soviet Union and Vietnam to establish an all-encompassing international security system and turn the Asia-Pacific region into a peaceful, stable, prosperous, and cooperative place.

The socialist countries unanimously suggest to resolve regional conflicts via political means. They support the Geneva accords for the Afghan issue and ASEAN countries' effort in solving the Cambodian problem.

Many an issue concerning the Asia-Pacific region hinges on the interaction between the two great socialist countries—the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Many countries in the world point out with satisfaction that the improvement in Sino-Soviet relations is the guarantee for security in Asia. The Soviet Union and China support the idea of establishing nuclear-free peace zones. The Soviet Union and China oppose the militarization of the outer space and suggest destruction of chemical weapons, weapons capable of wide-range killing. All this shows the peace-loving nature of socialism and is a great contribution to maintaining world peace.

Chinese Academicians Comment on USSR Ties

PM3110110188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Dialogue Must Be Continued, Chinese Scientists Say, Commenting on the Soviet Initiatives on Problems of the Asia and Pacific Region"]

[Text] Beijing—"Gorbachev's initiatives are natural. Much of what he proposes goes without saying, as it were. He does not insist on absolute truth but invites people to a dialogue." This is the impression gained by two Chinese scientists of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's new proposals aimed at strengthening peace and stability on the Asian Continent and in the Pacific basin, which were voiced in his recent Krasnoyarsk speech.

My interlocutors are leaders of the Center for Research into Problems of the USSR and East European Countries at Beijing People's University, one of the largest higher educational institutions in China and one which is particularly authoritative in the social sciences sphere: Zhou Xincheng (age 54), is the center's director. His chief scientific interest is the USSR economy and, above all, the reform of the economic mechanism.

Zhao Dalun (age 53), is deputy director and a specialist in USSR foreign policy. In the mid-sixties he was trained at Minsk University and studied materials of the Soviet Union's postwar history.

The center was set up 25 years ago. Two areas of study of the Soviet Union have been singled out there—the economy and domestic and foreign policy. They now intend to set up an ideology department, where law, in particular, will also be studied. This is logical. The theme of the rule-of-law state is standing out increasingly clearly in the course of the renewal taking place in our countries. The information section is also solid: All leading materials from experience of socialist building and restructuring are translated into Chinese. The volume of translations over the past 8 months runs to 50 million Chinese characters.

Zhou Xincheng believes that the study of the Soviet Union in the sixties, when the center came into being, cannot be considered scientific. Many views then were subjective and simply wrong. A new page was opened in December 1978, after the CPC Central Committee Plenum which gave a boost to transformations in Chinese society. "We now proceed from the concept of 'seeking the truth in facts,'" Zhou said. "And so we understand Gorbachev's views, for we look at many phenomena in an identical way. Incidentally," the director added, "we take a fundamental approach to the Soviet Union's new thinking. It is no coincidence that this has been the leading topic at many scientific symposiums. And the Chinese translation of Gorbachev's book 'Restructuring and New Thinking for Our Country and for the Whole World' was published almost simultaneously by two publishing houses here. A unique occurrence."

Zhou Xincheng is not alone in his assessments. Zhu Lie, director of the "Shijie Zhishi" Publishing House, said that experienced specialists who had long translated works by the classics of Marxism-Leninism worked on the translation of M.S. Gorbachev's book. "It was very important," he emphasized, "to convey the author's views to the reader correctly. And they are consonant with the thoughts of those who are carrying out the Chinese reform." I was told the same thing by staffers of the Academy of Social Sciences and the Chinese Publications Export-Import Company, bookstore sales staff, visitors to the recent international book fair....

"We will analyze the Krasnoyarsk initiatives just as thoroughly as Gorbachev's book," Zhao Dalun said. "It seems to me that they are a continuation and development of the Vladivostok initiatives. And the fact that the Soviet leader has twice in 2 years addressed the problems of the Asia and Pacific region on a large scale attests to the tremendous attention that the Soviet Union devotes to this region." Zhao Dalun pointed to three emphases in the Krasnoyarsk speech: the easing of the international situation, the ensuring of security in the Asia and Pacific region, and the development of economic ties in the region.

How do the Chinese scientists assess the 2-year period between Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk?

Zhao Dalun: "The Vladivostok speech was attractive to the Chinese particularly because of the Soviet leader's logic concerning the inevitability of an improvement in Sino-Soviet relations. As a Chinese, I was very distressed at the sharp deterioration in our relations and at the lack of understanding that arose between us in the past."

Zhou Xincheng: "When Gorbachev made his Vladivostok speech, I was in the northeast of Heilongjiang Province and I saw the interest with which people greeted it. It was the chief topic of debate. The readiness to expand border trade was particularly attractive. Incidentally, as an economist, I wish to express the hope that economic relations between China and the USSR will get a second wind. Our economies complement each other: Light industry is developed in Northeast China, for example, but there is a shortage of rolled steel, cement, and electricity. And another promising sphere: In the past hundreds of enterprises were constructed with the Soviet Union's assistance. Retooling is needed there now. Many directors of these plants have said to me: We value the Soviet equipment for its reliability, although with regard to design it is perhaps inferior to Japanese equipment."

"I will be frank," Zhao Dalun continued. "There was restraint in our position after the Vladivostok speech. What deeds would follow the words? We now see that events are developing. The Sino-Soviet border talks have resumed. Not all specific questions have been resolved yet, but progress is obvious. Movement has become apparent on the Cambodian problem. The working meeting of Chinese and Soviet deputy foreign ministers also played a role in this. The resolution of the Afghan problem and the Soviet troop withdrawal which has begun must be singled out in particular. I believe that this has had a refreshing influence not only on security in Asia but also on the entire international situation. This is bound to have influenced the development of events in Angola, Namibia, and the Persian Gulf."

Zhou Xincheng: "I respect Gorbachev's political courage. For it was not easy to resolve the Afghan problem."

What is the Chinese scientists' attitude to the proposal to discuss on a multilateral basis the question of reducing military confrontation in regions where the coasts of the USSR, the PRC, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea are in proximity?

My interlocutors believe that the proposal to freeze and reduce the level of naval and air forces is sensible in itself. It is also useful for China. Why spend unnecessary money on armaments? For there is such a need for it to modernize the country. But, from their viewpoint, the question of reducing confrontation in the said regions is, above all, a bilateral one, that is, a Soviet-U.S. one. The level of these countries' armaments, they believe, cannot be compared with others.

I reminded the scientists that our many attempts to find points of contact with the Americans with regard to problems of the Asia and Pacific region have not met with understanding on their part. Zhou Xincheng replied with a Chinese saying: "If the water has frozen to too great a depth, it cannot be melted in a single day." And he added: "Yes, the West still has many doubts...."

My interlocutors are convinced that the new thinking marks a strategic change in the Soviet Union's foreign policy. Zhao Dalun: "We have noticed that you no longer define peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems as a form of class struggle." The new thinking, the Chinese scientist believes, proceeds from the common human interests of the need to switch from confrontation to cooperation, accords with the objective requirements of the age, and is bound to make headway. But the leaders of Western countries must also proceed not from ideological but from common human interests. The number of such leaders seems to be growing all the time, Zhao Dalun believes.

Everything takes time, and this factor, from their viewpoint, must not be disregarded in realizing the concept of Asian security. European realities cannot be transferred there. In Europe the demarcation line between East and West and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO is visible. In Asia it is all more complex: a whole tangle of problems—the Korean peninsula; the USSR-the West; India-Pakistan.... It takes time, although the process of improvement is taking place. Do the Olympic Games in Seoul not attest to this?

What do the Chinese scientists think about the full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations?

They are convinced that, given the undoubted decisive changes for the better, the level of these relations plainly does not accord with the place that the two countries occupy in the world. For in recent years China has been visited by the U.S. President, the Japanese premier, and other leaders. Why is the level of Soviet guests lower? In the view of both scientists, a Sino-Soviet summit meeting is not far off now [uzhe ne za gorami]. It must boost the deepening of political, economic, cultural, and even military ties between our countries. And, speaking of the problems of the Asia and Pacific region, they believe that the full normalization of Sino-Soviet relations will also inevitably exert a good influence on this rapidly developing region.

Xinjiang Group Signs Economic Protocol in USSR

OW0811002188 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Text] KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA has reported on the outcome of the recent visit to Kazakhstan Republic by a Xinjiang industrial and economic delegation headed by leaders of the Government of China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

The paper said: Both sides signed a protocol on expanding cooperation in the fields of nonferrous metals, power, geology, and the chemical industry. Both sides also indicated that they were ready to establish joint ventures in these fields. Meanwhile they also discussed matters regarding construction of a thermal power station in Xinjiang with Soviet help.

The Soviet and Chinese sides also discussed in detail matters regarding the transmission of power from Kazakhstan to China's northwest region. According to an agreement, China will help Kazakhstan build a workshop for manufacturing paint in the near future, and a chemical fertilizer plant will be built in Xinjiang later.

The paper wrote: The Chinese guests inspected many factories in the republic and were received by Kazakhstan's Council of Ministers.

Chinese Publishing, Media Official Interviewed

OW0711235288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 2 Nov 88

[From "The World Today" program]

[Text] A Chinese publication and media delegation led by Du Daozheng, director of the Chinese Press and Publication Administration, is visiting the Soviet Union. Director Du Daozheng was interviewed by a Soviet reporter covering publication news.

The reporter asked: Comrade director, could you tell us your impression on your visit to the Soviet Union?

Du Daozheng replied: Like the rest of the delegation, I was struck by the Soviet people's interest in China and its current reform. I personally felt the enormous size of the country. Despite setbacks, the Soviet Union has made many achievements in the economic, scientific, and cultural fields. Our delegation's visit to the Soviet Union has shown that friendship and cooperation between the two countries are growing and strengthening. This cooperation includes publications and the media. For example, Chinese literature is published in the Soviet Union while Soviet literary works are on sale in China. Here I would like to point out that our people are showing growing interest in the Soviet reform and the problems encountered. Our newspapers and periodicals give wide coverage to developments in the Soviet Union. The Chinese edition of the "Selected Works of Gorbachev" has been published in China several times.

The reporter asked: Are you satisfied with the result of your visit?

Du Daozheng replied: Undoubtedly we came to learn from Soviet publishers and journalists. Comrades at the Political Literature Publishing House, Agriculture and Industry Publishing Company, and Lenin Publishing House introduced to us their valuable experience, and we deeply appreciate their kindness. We are interested in the structure of Soviet publishing houses and news editorial departments, in the work of selecting subject matters, and in publishing procedures and printing processes. We have noticed the changes taking place in Soviet publishing undertakings and the rise of the workers' initiative and independence.

The reporter asked: What is the best way to cooperate between the two sides?

The Chinese director replied: There are many ways for us to cooperate with each other. For example, we can frequently exchange information needed by the other side and hold book fairs. We can exchange delegations and experts, carry out joint publishing undertakings, sponsor symposiums, and publish books in each other's country. It is important to establish good relations between our publishing houses: for example, between your Political Literature Publishing House and our People's Publishing House. There is a possibility of carrying out joint publishing to introduce each country's reform to readers in the other country. We may also consider jointly studying common problems and establishing joint publishing and printing ventures.

Soviet Women's Delegation Ends Visit to PRC

OW0511100488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Text] A delegation of the Committee of Soviet Women, led by committee chairman Pukhova, ended its visit to China (?today).

The delegation met with leaders of the All-China Women's Federation in Beijing.

The delegation also met with activists of the women's movement in Sichuan Province and the Xiamen Special Economic Zone and exchanged views with them on the work of women's organizations in the Soviet Union and China. Both sides agreed to exchange more women's delegations. In addition, they also agreed that a Soviet women's magazine would exchange materials with a Chinese women's magazine.

PRC Oil Prospecting Team Visits Turkmenistan

OW0111054588 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Text] (Hu Jianyi), deputy director of the Beijing Petroleum Prospecting and Exploitation Institute, said that Chinese and Soviet scholars would work together to make plans for the development of natural gas in China. A Chinese delegation, led by him, made a 2-day tour of petroleum and natural gas enterprises in the Soviet Union's Turkmenistan. (Hu Jianyi) said: Turkmenistan has gained rich experience in exploiting natural gas. It is therefore significant and useful for Chinese experts to work together with their Soviet counterparts. China has taken the first step in this field. Prospecting for, and exploiting, natural gas is a very important matter.

This Chinese scholar said: We believe we can do our research faster and better with Soviet help.

Chinese Store Opens in Vladivostok

LD0511234688 Moscow TASS in English 2143 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Text] Vladivostok November 6 TASS—The store with the name "The River of the Dragon" opened on the shore of the Amur Bay. The store which stocks Chinese goods was visited on Saturday by hundreds of residents of Vladivostok, the centre of the Primorye territory, south of the Soviet Far East. The residents were attracted by a wide choice of goods—from elegant glass and porcelain vases to pictures executed in the original oriental style which could earlier be seen only at exhibitions. The shopping premises are draped with fine silks, decorated with original paintings. Chinese music which sounds in the store creates a festive atmosphere.

"We have concluded an agreement with the Shinmao company from Suifenho city for mutual deliveries", said director of the Vladivostok state department store Viktor Chibiryak. "The first contract worth half a million roubles will enable us to meet fuller the requirement of people of Vladivostok for products of the Chinese light and perfumery industry, arts and crafts. A similar store opened in Heilongjiang Province. The store has rich assortment of Soviet goods, some 500 items."

Northeast Asia

DPRK's Kim Il-song Greets Gorbachev on GOSR

PM0711164588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Kim Il-song greetings to M.S. Gorbachev on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

On behalf of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee, the DPRK Government, the Korean people, and on my own behalf I send to you and, through you, to the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Government, and the whole Soviet people fraternal greetings and ardent wishes on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The October socialist revolution, accomplished by Russia's working class under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, was a great event which marked the beginning of a new epoch in the historic transition from capitalism to socialism.

Following the October revolution's victory, the Soviet people launched a hard and persistent struggle to consolidate and develop the socialist system in conditions of capitalist encirclement.

The Soviet people, who bore on their shoulders a heavy burden during World War II and ensured victory in the antifascist liberation struggle, transformed the USSR into an even mightier socialist power within a brief time period during the postwar years.

Restructuring, which is aimed at accelerating the socioeconomic development and boosting socialism to a new level, is spreading and gathering strength in the Soviet Union today, the process of Soviet society's renewal is actively advancing, the people's prosperity is rising day by day.

The USSR party and government are taking energetic actions to implement total disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament, to create an all-embracing system of international security, and to build a nuclear-free and nonviolent world.

The Korean people are sincerely pleased with the successes achieved by the fraternal Soviet people in the building of socialism and communism, and express firm solidarity with the struggle waged by the CPSU and the Soviet Government in defense of peace and security in Europe, Asia, and all over the world, and for the improvement of the entire international situation.

Relations of unbreakable friendship and cooperation have developed between the Korean and Soviet peoples in the joint struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of the great cause of socialism and communism. Having withstood all historical trials, these relations have continuously strengthened and developed.

We are certain that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our two parties, countries, and peoples, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will continue to deepen and develop, just as in the past, on the basis of the accords reached during our meetings in Moscow.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, with all my heart I wish you and the whole Soviet people even greater successes in the work to fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference, to secure the country's prosperity, and to ensure peace throughout the world.

Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK Central Committee and president of the DPRK

Political Observer Examines Korean Unification

PM0711142588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Political observer Vikentiy Matveyev article: "From Dialogue to Unification"]

[Text] Some 15 years ago the United Nations responded approvingly to a portentous phenomenon in the life of the Korean nation: Representatives of North and South Korea issued a joint statement defining the three main principles for resolving the unification problem: independence without reliance on external forces and without external interference, rejection of the use of armed force against each other, and the achievement of national consolidation regardless of differences in ideology and systems.

Since then the question of promoting peace, reconciliation, and dialogue on the Korean peninsula has not left the agenda of UN General Assembly sessions. However, there has been no real progress in bringing North and South closer, although during the past period the DPRK Government has not only advanced a number of new constructive ideas and proposals but also taken some unilateral practical steps to back up those initiatives.

Thus, at the beginning of 1984 the DPRK proposed to the United States and South Korea the holding of tripartite talks on replacing the armistice agreement signed in 1953 with a peace treaty and also on a U.S. troop withdrawal from South Korea. The need was indicated to draw up a declaration on nonaggression between North and South and on a considerable reduction in the opposing armed forces. In 1986 the DPRK announced that it had adopted a pledge not to produce, import, or site nuclear weapons on its territory. An appeal was addressed to the United States not to build up such arms in South Korea. And then the DPRK unilaterally stopped holding large-scale military maneuvers at home and went on to reduce its armed forces.

No response to those peace-loving steps was forthcoming from the other side of the 38th parallel, which marks the demilitarized line on the peninsula. On the contrary, the Pentagon began holding annual military maneuvers on an unprecedented scale in the south of the peninsula—"Team Spirit," which, translated from English, sounded mockingly like "fraternal spirit." "Fraternity" which split the nation still deeper!

Does what I have said mean that nothing is changing in the situation on the peninsula? Such a conclusion would hardly be right. What is the most noteworthy feature? The growing sentiments in favor of national unity among diverse sections of the population in South Korea. That is the first point. The increasingly loud voices there against the presence both of U.S. troops and of U.S. nuclear weapons. That is the second point.

The strengthening public movement in South Korea has also made certain representatives of U.S. military circles start talking differently now. The time has come "to declare bluntly that nuclear weapons are no longer necessary for defense (of South Korea) and to act accordingly." This was a recent statement by Lieutenant General John Cushman of the U.S. Army.

Nuclear weapons also were "not necessary" 30 years ago, when the United States began stationing them in South Korea. But at that time Pentagon officials did not mention the fact, and the political ferment now to be observed there did not yet exist.

During Reagan's 20 October meeting with No Tae-u, head of the South Korean administration, the question of the U.S. military presence in South Korea was also discussed. Answering journalists' questions after the meeting, Reagan pointed to the possibility of a reduction in the U.S. military forces in South Korea but emphasized that this is still only "a possibility." No decision about this has been made.

U.S. policy with regard to the Korean peninsula remains basically unchanged, although certain partial corrections are being made with a view to creating the impression of "flexibility" in official policy on the question of establishing contacts with the DPRK. I believe that this change of tone is accounted for, above all, by changes in the frame of mind of broad sections of the population in South Korea.

The same should also be said of No Tae-u's recent speech at the UN General Assembly session. In his opinion, reunification can be achieved only toward the end of the present century. But, probably, not even this is the most characteristic point. His speech contained no specific, practical recommendations on how to follow a path which accords with the Korean people's vital interests.

As for No Tae-u's proposal to convene a conference with the participation of the United States, the USSR, the PRC, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea to discuss questions of strengthening peace and stability on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia, the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland in the DPRK has made a reply to this proposal. It is condemned as an attempt to pursue a policy aimed at perpetuating the "two Koreas," that is, as contradicting the very essence of the efforts for the country's national reunification.

DPRK First Deputy Foreign Minister Kang Sok-chu put forward a detailed realistic program for resolving the problem of Korea's unification at the same UN General Assembly session. After repeating the proposals advanced earlier by the DPRK for forming an all-Korean confederative republic while preserving the two different social systems in the North and the South on the basis of peaceful coexistence, the DPRK delegation head submitted a number of important new proposals aimed at the practical implementation of national reunification: for the creation of a National Confederative Assembly with an equal number of representatives from the North and the South and on the formation within its framework of a standing committee and a unified government to direct the actions of the autonomous governments in matters relating to the country's common interests. A proposal was also advanced to create a unified national army with a subsequent considerable reduction in the armed forces and the elimination of the military demarcation line.

It has once again been clearly pointed out that the establishment of a North-South dialogue with the participation of representatives of the political parties and the broad public in both parts of the peninsula, as well as the holding of an interparliamentary conference and the organization of top-level talks to discuss the question of adopting a joint declaration on nonaggression and on the creation of a confederative government, must be an indispensable means of national reconciliation.

It is impossible to advance along a difficult road without setting up markers and signs for such movement. This is the political meaning of the DPRK's new constructive initiatives. They outline the clear prospect of movement toward Korea's national reunification. They cannot be brushed aside. They deserve both very serious study and an equally constructive response.

Far East Official Interviewed on Korean Situation

SK0411002988 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Undated interview with Mikhail Leontyevich Titarenko, director of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by unnamed MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA reporter—read by announcer]

[Text] Recently the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the International Strategic Study Institute at Standford University in the United States have put forward a proposal in connection with the question of strengthening security and developing cooperation on the Korean peninsula. This document has already been sent to the Governments of the DPRK, South Korea, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Japan. This is unprecedented in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

In this connection, a MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA reporter had a question-answer session with Mikhail L. Titarenko, director of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA: What do you think of the ideal of the joint proposal?

Titarenko: Our contact with the International Strategic Studies Institute of Standford University has been ongoing for the past 6 years. However, it was 2 ½ years ago when the contact between our two institutes began to develop in earnest. For example, last autumn scholars from our two institutes jointly prepared a plan for strengthening security and for eliminating the danger of war in Asia and the Pacific after they had lengthy and detailed discussions.

In a meeting held in Alma-Ata some time ago our scholars from the two institutes not only further reviewed and materialized this plan, but also concentrated efforts on the problem that both sides regarded as a key problem for guaranteeing security in this region. Thus, our scholars mapped out a joint proposal on the situation on the Korean peninsula.

MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA: What is the purpose of the proposal?

Titarenko: In a word, the purpose of the proposal is to encourage the North and the South of Korea to have dialogue and to help alleviate tension between them and improve their relations. The Korean peninsula has been one of the politically acute and unstable areas in Asia and the Pacific for many years. This is not a secret.

Scholars from the two institutes firmly believe that the Soviet Union, the United States, and other leading countries in Asia and the Pacific should actively help to resolve the Korean question.

Our proposal can be regarded as a reference document to seek mutual understanding constructively and politically. Our proposal is a comprome document which accepts the stand of the DPRK, South Korea, and other countries concerned. Then, what is the content of our proposal? The content of our proposal includes suspension of the slanderous propaganda between the DPRK and South Korea, suspension of each side threatening the opposite side as stipulated in the UN Charter, the North and the South mutually promising not to interfere in the domestic affairs of the opposite side, development of mutual cooperation in many fields, personnel exchanges, and opening of a telephone line between Pyongyang and Seoul as the first step toward holding more comprehensive talks.

We consider this a valuable step in achieving trust between the North and the South. In addition, we also propose that the Demilitarized Zone be turned into a peace zone and that steps to reduce the danger of armed conflict on the Korean peninsula be discussed and adopted. In the Alma-Ata meeting U.S. scholars admitted that the Korean question cannot be resolved without discussions of the problem of withdrawing U.S. forces from South Korea.

We also want to indicate the following point. The proposal put forward by our two institutes does not include the question of reunifying Korea because this is completely an internal affair of the Korean people. We reviewed and discussed only the international aspects of the question of reunifying Korea.

MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA: During the meeting between scholars from the two institutes, was there any official influence from the governments of the two countries?

Titarenko: No, there was no intervention from the outside at all. Soviet and U.S. scholars discussed and mapped out the proposal independently without outside intervention. The fact that the two institutes cooperated closely in the work of resolving these complicated political affairs was unprecedented. Undoubtedly, this is one of the objective results which show a new political way of thinking. Such a new political way of thinking suggests the possibility of improvement in the overall relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and the overall situation of the world. Of course, our proposal is not a perfect proposal. It is rather a document that invites the (?world people) to think about a problem facing them. This is why we sent our document, our proposal, to politicians and scholars in the countries concerned in an effort to encourage them to consummate the ideal contained in it.

MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA: What were the repercussions of your proposal?

Titarenko: No official repercussions have been available yet. We know that in order to review and study the proposal time is needed. However, the repercussions from publications were very rapid. Their repercussions were generally affirmative. For instance, the Japanese newspaper YOMIURI SHIMBUN carried our proposal in connection with the situation of the Korean peninsula on its front page. The newspaper reported that the document would be utilized as references by officials of the Japanese Foreign Ministry when they decide on Tokyo's policy toward the Korean peninsula.

MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA: Our country has maintained traditional relations of friendship with the DPRK. These relations of friendship with the DPRK have encountered a new development this year. Do you see any possibility for contact with another country in the southern half of the Korean peninsula?

Titarenko: I think Comrade Gorbachev gave a very clear answer to this problem in Krasnoyarsk city. Speaking of economic cooperation with the country in the southern half of the Korean peninsula, for example, the possibility for opening cooperation can be achieved in the direction of making the overall situation on the Korean peninsula sound. Of course, it is difficult to predict the prospects at present. However, we cannot but pay attention to the fact that advanced industrial fields, such as the machine manufacturing industry, the shipbuilding industry, the robotics industry, the electronics industry, and the (?precision machinery industry), are very highly developed in South Korea. All of this has made South Korea a very interesting working partner.

Not long ago, a delegation of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce visited Seoul. At that time, possible avenues for economic cooperation were discussed. In other words, the problem of assisting the organization of exhibitions and symposiums and forging ties between the business circles of the two countries by exchanging business delegations between them was discussed at that time.

South Korea is a reality. This reality should be taken into consideration. Along with this, here we must stress that we can say working and business ties and scientific ties only at present. In particular, we would like to stress that the contact with South Korea will not change our relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation with the DPRK.

Speaking of possible direct trade ties with Seoul, we would like to indicate that the degree and level of the development of these ties will entirely depend on the progress of the (?negotiations) between the North and the South.

DPRK Promotes Plan for Reunification by 1995

LD0811092388 Moscow TASS in English 0717 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Pyongyang November 8 TASS—The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has put forward a package of peace initiatives to promote reunification of Korea by the year of 1995.

The proposals were approved here at the Monday joint meeting of the guiding bodies of state power of the country—the Central People's Committee, the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly and the Administrative Council of the DPRK.

A report on the meeting published today proposes that the following measures are to be carried out before the end of 1991: Stage-by-stage withdrawal of the American troops and nuclear weapons from South Korea be completed, the armed forces of the North and the South be reduced down to 100,000 men of the [as received] either side, an end should be put to major military exercises, cooperation and exchanges be launched in the political, economic, cultural and other areas, tripartite negotiations between the DPRK, USA and South Korea and military-political negotiations, and in the future a North-South summit meeting be held.

It has been decided to forward the DPRK's proposals to the U.S. Government and the South Korean authorities.

Soviet Weekly on Territorial Dispute With Japan

OW0511142088 Tokyo KYODO in English 1333 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 5 KYODO—A Soviet weekly has criticized the government for its secretive posture over the territorial dispute between Japan and the Soviet Union.

The weekly NOVOYE VREMYA (NEW TIMES), said in a signed commentary that the Soviet people should be allowed to express their free will on the issue and engage in frank discussions with the Japanese people.

The magazine urged the government to apply its "glasnost" open policy to the issue.

The article said the two countries have not been able to sign a peace treaty and maintain normal economic and trade ties because both sides insist on their respective positions.

It said solution to the territorial issue would be difficult if it is left to discussions between diplomatic officials of both countries.

It said Japanese diplomats can show how much of the Japanese population supports their country's claim to the islands in question but no such public opinion poll has ever been conducted in the Soviet Union.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

USSR, SRV Mark Anniversary of Friendship Treaty

Greetings to SRV Leaders

PM0811132588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Soviet leadership bodies' greetings to SRV leaders on treaty anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee

To Comrade Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV State Council

To Comrade Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers

To Comrade Le Quang Dao, chairman of the SRV National Assembly

Dear Comrades!

We send you and, through you, the Communists and all the people of Vietnam ardent greetings and cordial congratulations on the 10th anniversary of the conclusion of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between the USSR and the SRV.

The signing of this historic document embodied the desire of our countries' peoples to comprehensively develop and strengthen the bonds of fraternity and solidarity that took shape during the years of joint struggle for the triumph of the ideals of national independence, peace, and social progress. The treaty accords with the vital interests of the USSR and the SRV and its implementation has become an integral part of the social life of our countries' peoples and an important factor in international politics.

The splendid traditions of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship, the unity of positions between the CPSU and the CPV and between the USSR and the SRV on fundamental questions of bilateral relations and the contemporary development of socialism, and the mutual vigorous support for the revolutionary processes of restructuring and renewal under way in both countries are our most valuable common asset.

The regular meetings between the supreme leaders of our parties and countries are an important gesture for improving Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation and boosting its effectiveness. We note with satisfaction the steady deepening of collaboration between the Soviet Union and Vietnam in asserting the new political thinking in international affairs. The Soviet initiatives put forward in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk and Vietnam's constructive proposals were weighty factors in the struggle for the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, for peace, security, and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, for a political settlement of conflicts, and for a radical improvement in international relations in Southeast Asia.

The CPSU and the Soviet state will continue to follow the invariable line of consolidating solidarity and friendship with Vietnam and developing comprehensive cooperation with it in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism.

We sincerely wish you, dear comrades, and all Vietnam's working people great successes in implementing the decisions of the Sixth CPV Congress and the course of the renewal and comprehensive progress of your socialist homeland.

CPSU Central Committee

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

USSR Council of Ministers

SRV Leaders' Message

PM0811142588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Vietnamese leaders' greetings to Soviet leadership bodies on treaty anniversary]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee

To the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To the USSR Council of Ministers

We send the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, USSR Council of Ministers, and the entire fraternal Soviet people warmest congratulations on the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the SRV and the USSR.

The friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union have withstood all tests, are steadily developing in the joint struggle for peace, national independence, democratization, and socialism worldwide, and are one of the factors that ensured the Vietnamese people's victory in their long and highly difficult revolutionary cause.

The 3 November 1978 signing of the Vietnamese-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation marked a new step in the development of bilateral relations in accordance with the interests and aspirations of the two countries' Communist Parties and peoples and in the further strengthening of the great friendship, traditional solidarity, and close cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

We are happy to note that in the 10 years of the treaty's operation Vietnamese-Soviet relations of friendship and all-around cooperation have been substantially developed vertically and horizontally in all spheres. The effective coordination of our countries' actions in the international arena, particularly the USSR's important initiatives with respect to the Asia-Pacific region put forward in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, along with Vietnam's constructive proposals, have promoted and continue to promote the strengthening of dialogue and the consolidation of peace, stability, and cooperation in Southeast Asia, Asia, the Pacific basin, and the world as a whole.

The course of renewal adopted by the Sixth Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Congress, the course of restructuring adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, and the agreements reached during the summit meetings between the party and state leaders of Vietnam and the Soviet Union have laid a new foundation for all-around cooperation between the two countries and are geared toward further improving its effectiveness in accordance with the demands of the current stage. The CPV and the Vietnamese Government and people invariably consider the strengthening of Vietnamese-Soviet friendship and cohesion to be their principled line and will continue to do everything to develop the traditional bonds of friendship and all-around cooperation between the two countries in the spirit of renewal, in the interests of the Vietnamese and Soviet peoples, and for the sake of peace and socialism worldwide.

We wish the fraternal Soviet people success in implementing the course of the 27th CPSU Congress of restructuring and the important decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee

Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV Council of State

Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers

Le Quang Dao, chairman of the SRV National Assembly

Foreign Ministers' Messages

PM0811160788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, has sent Nguyen Co Thach, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, and SRV foreign minister, a telegram of congratulations on the 10th anniversary of the signing of the USSR-SRV Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

The signing of the Soviet-Vietnamese treaty, he said in the telegram, was the logical outcome of the strengthening of the traditional fraternal relations between our parties, countries, and peoples and laid firm foundations for their consistent deepening and development.

Under the impact of the processes of restructuring and renewal unfolding in the Soviet Union and the SRV, a wealth of potential is opening up for further broadening and enhancing the effectiveness of collaboration between the Soviet Union and Vietnam in the solution of global and regional problems in the spirit of the new political thinking.

The telegram expressed confidence that the time-tested Soviet-Vietnamese fraternity and cohesion will continue to steadily develop on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, for the good of the Soviet and SRV peoples, and in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism.

In his telegram, Nguyen Co Thach said that, working on the basis of the Soviet-Vietnamese treaty, over the last 10 years our countries have strengthened their close cooperation in all spheres and the coordination of their actions in the international arena and made an active contribution to the common struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

Today, in light of the course of renewal proclaimed by the Sixth CPV Congress and the policy of restructuring announced by the 27th CPSU Congress, the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries are continuing to actively develop, gain a new quality and effectiveness, and reliably serve the cause of creation and development in Vietnam and the Soviet Union and the interests of peace and stability in Southeast Asia, the Asian and Pacific region, and the world as a whole.

Chebrikov at Moscow Meeting

LD0311103088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A festive meeting took place today in Moscow devoted to the 10th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Taking part in the meeting were: Comrade Chebrikov; Comrade Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Comrade Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

It was noted in the speeches that the strength of the treaty, which was designed to serve the long-term interests of the two countries, is now manifest in all spheres of the multifaceted Soviet-Vietnamese contacts. The great international significance of the document was stressed, as well as the resolution of the USSR And Vietnam to fight for a durable peace in the Asia-Pacific region and throughout the world.

Also today, Nguyen Manh Cam, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the USSR, arranged a reception on the occasion of the remarkable date. It was attended by Comrades Chebrikov, Khabibullayev, Gusev, and other officials. [video shows Chebrikov, Tereshkova, other unidentified officials on podium]

Hun Sen, Sihanouk Hold Third Meeting in Paris

LD0711140188 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Text] Paris November 7 TASS—The third consultative meeting between Hun Sen, chairman of Kampuchea's Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk was held in the place of Fere-en-Tardenois, Ain Department, one hundred kilometres from the French capital. The leader of another opposition group, Son Sann, will also take part in these talks.

The dialogue of different Kampuchean sides started last December when the first Hun Sen-Sihanouk meeting was held in Fere-en-Tardenois.

On his arrival to Paris, Hun Sen told journalists that he was feeling rather optimistic about the talks because the situation had markedly improved over the past year.

The current talks will be focused on searching for ways to find a peaceful political settlement to the situation around Kampuchea in the spirit of national reconciliation pursued by the Kampuchean Government and resolve disputable issues by way of negotiations of all the parties concerned.

Statement Issued After Paris Talks on Cambodia

LD0911091688 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Paris November 9 TASS—A statement of the Kampuchean Government on problems of national reconciliation was circulated at the meeting of Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann, leader of one of the opposition groupings, which has ended at Fere-en-Tardenois, Aisne Department.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea has called on all the Kampuchean sides to discontinue hostilities and effect national reconciliation.

The right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination must be ensured by general and free elections, called upon to determine the country's political, economic and social system in keeping with the national traditions and aspirations of the Kampuchean people, the statement says. The People's Republic of Kampuchea moves to hold the elections three months after the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea and termination of outside interference. The People's Republic of Kampuchea comes out for the perpetuation of Kampuchea's present political and military status quo in the period preceding such elections. The armed forces of all the conflicting parties must remain within their positions and must stop all military operations.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea also moves to set up a quadripartite national reconciliation council headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. It will be within the competence of this council to carry out different agreements among the Kampuchean sides, to determine the terms and procedure of the future elections, to draw up a constitution for Kampuchea. The People's Republic of Kampuchea also moves to set up an international control commission, hold an international conference on Kampuchea to ensure agreement among the Kampuchean sides with a view to guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty, neutrality and status of a non-aligned Kampuchean state, to ensuring peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Opposition to UN Resolution on Cambodia Cited

BK0511104488 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] The debate on the situation in Cambodia has ended at the United Nations General Assembly in New York and the resolution adopted reflects positive changes in the situation in Cambodia.

First of all, according to our observer, Comrade Alekseyev, it is the recognition that it is necessary to continue negotiations to solve the Cambodian problem politically. As people know, this year has brought encouraging progress. We refer to the informal meeting among Cambodian parties in Bogor, Indonesia, with the participation of the two groups of states in Southeast Asia. At this meeting there was agreement in principle on two interrelated key points for solving the problem, namely the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the guarantee that the Pol Pot clique does not return to power. On the road of progress, there is also the meeting between Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, leader of the opposition group. Earlier such meetings produced fair results, and a new meeting is planned for 5 November. According to reports, Son Sann, leader of another opposing Cambodian group, will also attend the meeting.

The resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly not only refers to the importance of this kind of direct meeting of Cambodian parties, but recognizes the necessity of supervising the ongoing withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia along with the prevention of the genocidal regime's resurgence. It also points out that it is necessary to take measures to stop the Vietnamese troop pullout from pushing Cambodia into a policy that only recently was condemned by the entire world community.

One can criticize both those who drafted this resolution and those who voted for it because the document does not refer to the Pol Pot clique by name. However, in our view, this is only a secondary point because the wording in the resolution on the so-called policy of the recent past cannot be interpreted by anyone as meaning anything else but the genocidal policy of Pol Pot. We should remember that in all the resolutions on the Cambodian problem adopted by the UN General Assembly since 1979, there has never been any sign pointing to the necessity to guarantee the non-return to power of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. This time, the resolution mentions this. Undeniably, this is a fairly big step forward. All this does not mean that the resolution does not contain negative points that cannot be accepted.

The resolution slanders and falsifies the goal and role of Vietnamese volunteer troops in Cambodia and provides an assessment of Vietnam's policy which does not correspond to reality. This is why the Soviet Union, together with other countries, opposed the resolution. However, one can clearly see that the realistic attitude taken by the international community on the situation in Cambodia is growing.

Thai Use of U.S. Funds for Cambodia Viewed

BK0511094088 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Shakhov commentary]

[Text] A large amount of money supplied by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency to Cambodian opposition groups has been skimmed off by the Thai military and officials. This news was published a few days ago by the Bangkok paper THE NATION. Here is the comment of our observer, Comrade Shakhov.

Frankly speaking, there is nothing surprising about this report because Thai officers have always looked upon U.S. military assistance as a reasonable way of padding their salaries. Realistically speaking, this attitude is not hard to understand. Thailand is not threatened by anyone and, in fact, this is so. Therefore, why bother spending money to defend it? Particularly when the paths through which this assistance flows are monitored by almost no one. However, the current situation recalls an earlier, similar situation.

Previously, Thai officers skimmed money from U.S. military assistance programs to Thailand, meaning from funds to be provided to the Thai forces. But now they are putting their hands on money reserved for a third party, namely, the Cambodian opposition groups. This money left the donors but did not reach the hands of the receivers. It was lost on the way. The report in the Bangkok paper THE NATION has been confirmed by U.S. sources. For example, THE WASHINGTON POST affirmed that this year alone, up to one-third of the assistance the U.S. CIA provided to Cambodian groups remained in the pockets of high-ranking Thai army officers and businessmen. The current atmosphere stinks, and what else can be said when millions of dollars have been snatched from under the noses of CIA experts? It is also an embarrassment to them. It should be said that even the victims of this scam, let alone the perpetrator, probably do not want any publicity. Efforts are being made at high levels on both sides to immediately end this shameful story, or at least play it down.

From what one can see, Washington does not want its ally to lose face. This is why the U.S. side thinks it is better to secretly allocate a few more million dollars.

U.S. 'Hurry' To Secure Philippine Bases Viewed

PM0811150188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent I. Kovalev under the "Apt Remarks" rubric: "Washington in a Hurry"]

[Text] Manila—The Philippine-American treaty on U.S. military bases on Philippine territory—which are the biggest outside the United States—expires 16 September 1991.

Under the treaty any side wishing to discontinue its operation in the future must give its partner 12 months' notice of this. That is to say, if the Filipinos do not notify Washington in due time the treaty will be prolonged for an indefinite period. It should be made clear that a

Philippine notification will in no way mean the scrapping of bases after 1991. It could only serve, in the opinion of local politicians and journalists, as an invitation to new talks on extending the bases' presence in the Philippines.

Washington is clearly working to just that end. And a report from the United States that has just been received here says that the State Department is hoping for talks on the future of the bases in the Philippines. The sooner, the better. That is, without even waiting for Philippine notification.

Why is Washington in so much of a hurry? It is perfectly understandable. It is essential to obtain firm guarantees in advance that the military bases will be maintained after 1991. The Americans' nervousness is caused by two factors: First, most members of the Philippine Senate are against if not the actual presence of the bases then any form of nuclear weapons on them; and second, the growing movement to eliminate the bases in the Philippines.

If, as the Philippine Constitution requires, the question of the bases' continuance were put to a national referendum today, most Filipinos would vote in favor of the bases—in the opinion of Philippine commentators and, of course, the U.S. special services who keep tabs on local public opinion. Why? Primarily because most Filipinos do not even know that U.S. bases stuffed with nuclear weapons exist on their country's territory—and are even less aware of how great a danger they pose. Most deputies in the House of Representatives could vote for the bases' retention. This present situation suits Washington to a tee.

To maintain it pressure is already being applied on those who want the bases scrapped. The following is the latest example: On 29 October D. Lazaro, who writes (or used to write) plays against the U.S. bases went out into the street after seeing one of his plays put on by a student theater. He was detained by people who said they were army intelligence service agents and bundled into a car at gun point. Not a word has been heard of him since.

Possible Soviet-Philippine Ship Repair Agreement

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 29 October 1988 carries on page 5 a 400-word article by A. Bogomolov entitled "Excessive Revenge" noting U.S. objections to a possible Soviet agreement with the Philippine firm Philesco on repairing Soviet civilian ships. Bogomolov notes that the U.S. Administration opposes this because of a potential security threat to Subic Bay, which is located not far from the Philesco facilities. He further notes that "Not so long ago, the Pentagon tried unsuccessfully to reach an agreement with Philesco on repairing American military ships." Bogomolov asked Yu.P. Babi, deputy chief of the Main Administration of Ship Repair of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet ("this organization is occupied, in particular, with questions of repair abroad of our ships"), to comment on a possible Soviet-Philippine agreement. Babi is quoted as saying:

—"The Philippines have long been seeking to cooperate with us. At one time we used the services of a small dockyard, and no problems arose. However, by virtue of its military obligations to the United States, the government has refused to allow us access to large, modern dockyards.

"Business circles of the country hold another opinion entirely. Cooperation should be mutually beneficial. It would be more profitable for us not to go to the Philippines, but to stop en route in Japan, Hong Kong, or Singapore, where they have known us for a long time, relate well to us, and where the class of work is higher. Therefore, we recently met with Philippine representatives and spoke about conversion in this sphere to compensatory, clearing rates: They would provide services to us, we would provide manufactured goods to them.

"As for the current U.S. protests.... I am not a politician, but, in my opinion these are unnecessary grounds for pressuring the Philippines. They know that the mood in favor of cooperation with us is spreading in the country and want to hinder this. But it should be noted that, in any event, the interests of our civilian fleet will not suffer, we are losing nothing here."

Moscow Comments on Soviet-Philippine Ties

OW0911011588 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Station commentary: "How the United States Blocks the Development of Mutually Beneficial Economic Relations Between the Soviet Union and the Philippines"]

[Text] The Philippine (Finotsk) Shipyard, a money-losing concern in Subic Bay, has suddenly become the center of controversy as some people tried to reap political profits from it. According to reports from Manila, this joint Japanese-Philippine venture became the center of controversy because the Soviet Union once again applied for permission to use the shipyard to repair Soviet commercial ships passing through the area on a regular basis. This was originally a very simple matter. The Soviet Union has notably increased its business and other commercial dealings with Asian and Pacific countries in recent days, causing a huge increase in the volume of freight and the number of vessels. As a result, it must find more places to repair and maintain its ships.

For the Filipino people in the (Finotsk) Shipyard, there is no problem understanding this simple logic. The AFP correspondent has reported from Manila that Mr Shawenge, chairman of the board of the (Finotsk) Shipyard, does not object to this profitable deal with the Soviet

Union, particularly in view of the company's bleak business prospects. As the saying goes, business is business. However, this matter of course to the Philippine business community has infuriated the U.S. military and politicians in Washington. Ranking Pentagon officials categorically declared that there could be no agreement with the Soviet Union and that Soviet ships should not be allowed to enter Subic Bay.

Not very long ago, when signing the memorandum on conditions for maintaining U.S. military bases in the Philippines, Washington's representatives solemnly swore that they would respect the Philippine Constitution, sovereignty, and freedom to choose the form of government. Today, after they have gained what they wanted, the U.S. authorities act as if they were the backstage ruler, imposing their own will on the Filipinos. To defend their position, they went as far as to say that repairing Soviet ships in Philippine shipyards would make it possible for the Soviets to collect intelligence on U.S. ships stationed in the U.S. naval base, and that the temporary anchoring of Soviet ships in Subic Bay would strengthen Soviet military power. In short, they began to harp on the same old tune of Soviet military threat. Whenever the Soviet Union tries to establish or expand cooperation with Asian and Pacific countries, U.S. propaganda machine will use this hackneyed tune to threaten the countries in question.

For example, the United States resorted to these tactics when the Soviet Union was negotiating agreements with Fiji, Tonga, and Vanuatu on fishing in the South Pacific. The ASEAN countries, which are trying to establish economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, particularly the Soviet Far East, are also being subjected to U.S. pressure. However, the time when the United States could impose its will on the Asia-Pacific countries has gone forever. The Asia-Pacific countries have asserted, in an increasingly stronger tone, that they will implement independent policies on the basis of national interests.

In a recent television interview, the Australian foreign and trade minister indicated that his country takes a relaxed attitude to Soviet entry into the Pacific. He announced that Australia would not prevent neighboring countries from developing trade relations with the Soviet Union. The past hardline position taken by Australia on this issue has damaged its relations with neighboring countries. We are glad that even Australia, a military ally of the United States, has decided to take a prudent approach. Regretably, some people in Washington are not realistic to such an extent. Thus, they continue to act as before, and give orders to the Filipinos, crying out that there can be no agreement with the Soviets and that no Soviet ships are allowed to enter Philippine waters.

Australia Refuses Soviet Fishing Request

LD0211144988 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Canberra November 2 TASS—Michael Duffy, Australian minister for trade negotiations said Canberra would not grant a Soviet request for commercial fishing rights within his country's 200-mile economic zone.

In a radio interview on Tuesday, Duffy said the government would also not permit Soviet trawlers' experimental fishing in the Indian Ocean off the shores of the state of Western Australia.

Those decisions were taken solely for commercial reasons, the minister said. They resulted from fears of a possibly too strong competition to Australian fishermen from Soviet trawlers and a possible exceeding of limits of fish reserves conservation.

Meanwhile Simon Tiller, general manager of Kailis and Frans, a company involved in the fishing industry said his firm was interested in cooperation with the Soviet Union.

He said, in his opinion, there was no talk of competing with Australian fishermen as Soviet trawlers can fish at depths up to 1,500 meters while Australian vessels only at depths of 200-300 metres.

The businessman spoke in favour of starting experimental-commercial fishing in deep sea and spoke of great prospects ahead. He referred to Soviet-New Zealand cooperation experience as proof of his view.

Near East & South Asia

Moscow Reports Iranian Leaders' GOSR Greetings

NC0811135188 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i and Mr Hoseyn Musavi, the president and prime minister of Iran, respectively, have sent congratulatory messages to Soviet leaders on the occasion of the GOSR anniversary in the Soviet Union. In these messages, the Iranian leaders conveyed their greetings to the Soviet people on their national day festivities, and expressed their good wishes and their hope for broadening the ties between the two countries.

'Ali Khamene'i wrote: I once again wish to stress that I desire increased ties between the two countries.

In his greetings message, Hoseyn Musavi wrote: I hope that the goodneighborly relations and cooperation between our two neighboring countries will grow and expand further in the future.

Central Committee Greets Lebanese Communist

PM0811161388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee congratulations to George Hawi, Lebanese Communist Party secretary general, on his 50th birthday]

[Text] To Comrade George Hawi, secretary general of the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee

Dear Comrade George Hawi!

The CPSU Central Committee cordially congratulates you on your 50th birthday.

Your activity at the head of the fraternal Lebanese Communist Party [LCP] is taking place under difficult conditions where Lebanon's national patriotic forces have to counter Israeli expansion, imperialist interference, and the reactionary circles' intrigues. Your role, Comrade George Hawi, is well known in the elaboration and implementation in this complex atmosphere of the political course thanks to which the LCP has become an important factor of the political life in Lebanon. The LCP's contribution to the defense of the unity, territorial integrity, and independence of the Lebanese Republic, to the strengthening of the cohesion of all forces which are countering the encroachments on the right of the Lebanese people to be masters in their own country, and to the struggle for the democratic development of the country has been great. The Lebanese Communists have won deserved respect through their selflessness and staunchness in this struggle.

Soviet Communists highly value your efforts in the development and strengthening of the internationalist relations between the LCP and the CPSU and the bonds of friendship and solidarity between the Lebanese and the Soviet peoples.

We wish you, Comrade George Hawi, good health and success in the struggle for the happiness and prosperity of your homeland which has suffered so much, for the peaceful future and social progress of all the world's peoples.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

Lebanese Communist Leader Awarded Order

PM0811160588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Award of the Order of Friendship of Peoples to Comrade George Hawi, Secretary General of the Lebanese Communist Party"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] For services in the struggle for social progress, peace, and democracy, his contribution to the strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Lebanon, and in connection with his 50th birthday, Comrade George Hawi, secretary general of the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee, is to be awarded the Order of the Friendship of Peoples.

M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Moscow, Kremlin, 4 November 1988

'Arafat Congratulates Gorbachev on Anniversary

LD0811230188 Algiers Voice of Palestine
in Arabic 1702 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Brother leader Abu Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] congratulated Comrade President Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Brother Abu Ammar stressed in his conglatulatory message he sent to Comrade Gorbachev the determination of our Palestinian people to persevere in consolidating and widening the comradely and solidarity ties between the Palestinian revolution and the October revolution, between the PLO and the friendly USSR Government, and between the Palestinian and Soviet peoples for the benefit of their development, progress, peace, and justice on the path to achieving international peace.

Palestinian Faction Leader Comments on Uprising

PM0211140188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Unnamed PRAVDA correspondent report on interview with Nayif Hawatimah, general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, under the "Our Interviews" rubric: "'No Way Back!'"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The unrest on the Israeli-occupied territories, where Palestinians have risen to fight for their freedom and independence, continues unabated. A PRAVDA correspondent interviewed Nayif Hawatimah, one of the leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement and general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP].

The Palestinian uprising, N. Hawatimah said, is now in its 11th month. Its slogan is "There's No Way Back!" We are convinced that these mass actions will continue for a long time: Until the Palestinians receive an opportunity to exercise their national right to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip. Until, with the support of the international public, we force Tel Aviv and Washington to sit down at the negotiating table within the framework of an international peace conference on the Near East capable of solving the entire range of complex problems.

The uprising on the occupied territories has profound political and socioeconomic roots, the interlocutor continued. All strata of the Palestinian people without exception are taking part in it, bravely opposing an army of occupation that is armed to the teeth and the entire military machine of the Israeli state.

From the outset the Western mass media tried to present the uprising in a distorted fashion. Stress was laid on the claim that the events taking place are a spontaneous explosion, a kind of "act of desperation." The organizational principle was obscured and the role of the patriotic organizations on the occupied territories and their ability to act as a leading force, unite Palestinians, and mobilize them for struggle was belittled.

This falsehood has been unmasked by the very course of events. The uprising was prepared and organized and is spreading headed by a united national leadership, in which Fatah, the DFLP, the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Palestinian Communist Party are represented... The main aim is to get a Near East settlement moving and secure the convocation of an international peace conference on the Near East involving all interested parties, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and also the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Unfortunately, the U.S. Administration continues to insist on the so-called "Shultz plan" on the question of a Near East settlement. This plan leads to a dead end. It has won no support either from the Palestinian people, who have always boycotted Shultz' visits to the occupied territories, or from the leaders and public of the Arab states. Israel's present coalition government also clings to the Camp David model for resolving the conflict in an attempt to force acceptance of the idea of Palestinian autonomy within the framework of the Israeli state. Moreover, the Labor Party stubbornly refuses to abandon the "Jordanian option," which has lost any sense and logic since King Husayn's statement regarding the cessation of juridical and administrative ties between Jordan and the West Bank.

As for the uprising, N. Hawatimah continued, I think that the upcoming extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council will give it a new boost. We intend to celebrate 29 November—the Day of International Solidarity With the Palestinian People—in a militant fashion.

To sum up, the uprising may be said to have brought about a genuine turnaround in the Palestinian consciousness and to have compelled public opinion in Western countries, particularly the United States, to see our people's tragedy in a new light.

The UN approach to a Near East settlement has also changed substantially. The UN Security Council has adopted three important resolutions—605, 607, and 608. They say for the first time that the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip are Palestinian territory. Previously all UN resolutions for 20 years referred to them as occupied Arab territories. Thus the Palestinians' legal rights were disregarded.

The uprising has stimulated Arab countries' activeness in support of the Palestinian people's struggle.

Unfortunately, intimidated by the uprising, Israeli public opinion has recently swung increasingly to the right. Since as far back as 1974, according to decisions of the Palestine National Council, the PLO has been developing relations with forces of peace and democracy in Israel with a view to countering this trend. Unity of action by the Palestinians and Israel's progressive forces is a guarantee of victory over the reactionary clique and a guarantee of a peaceful future.

Vinogradov Views U.S.-Israeli 'Space Linkup'

PM0811111188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "United States-Israel: 'Space Linkup'"]

[Text] Israel has become the largest foreign participant in the U.S. "Star Wars" program. This was announced by someone whose competence is beyond doubt. Namely, none other than Lieutenant General J. Abrahamson, until recently head of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization.

It is well known that Tel Aviv was one of the first among Washington's allies to agree to participate in the "Star Wars" program. Israel's leading scientific centers were placed at the Americans' disposal. Various Israeli institutes and research centers involved in work on SDI elements have already received $166 million within the framework of contracts that have already been signed. The bulk of these funds is to be spent on the development [razrabotka] of the "Arrow" interceptor missile, whose purpose is to provide a basis for Israel's defense system against enemy tactical missiles. At present, as announced by Gen J. Abrahamson, Washington and Tel Aviv are conducting talks to conclude a new contract covering not only the development [razrabotka] but also the testing of individual elements of space-based antimissile weapons in the Near East.

It is indicative that, in exchange for its participation in SDI, Israel receives from the United States not only advantageous orders but also access to data necessary for the development [razrabotka] of Israel's own missile weapons. It was thanks to this, for example, that Israel managed to create [sozdat] its own "Shavit" launcher. This missile was tested in the Mediterranean last May, and the test pursued a dual objective. First, to check the reliability of the missile, which has a flight range of up to 900 nautical miles and can be fitted with a nuclear warhead. And second, to test whether it would be capable of launching a satellite into orbit. Israel was pleased with the test's results, and at the end of September it became the ninth member of the "space club" by launching "Horizon-1," Israel's first earth satellite, using the "Shavit" launcher.

People in Israel itself prefer to get away with general descriptions of the satellite's purpose, emphasizing that this launch testifies to the country's high technological potential. But the London SUNDAY TIMES cited the Israeli military's opinion of the "Horizon-1" satellite. According to them, it will be orbiting above the Arab countries, completing an orbit every 90 minutes. This will, in particular, enable it to determine troop movement over a stretch of territory from Morocco to the Persian Gulf. If there is a war or a period of tension more than a month, it will be possible to launch a further one or two satellites prepared in good time.

The Israeli military insist on pressing with work along precisely this avenue. THE SUNDAY TIMES reports that the United States is also showing keen interest in "Horizon-1." After all, Israel intends to improve it to the point where the satellite could transmit photographs directly to Israeli Army commanders on Earth. The Pentagon believes that such a system could be widely applied in the U.S. Army.

There is no doubt that the U.S.-Israel "space linkup" introduces a new element in the Near East situation. Especially since, as it is correctly assumed in the Arab capitals, Israel's possession of a satellite for tracking military targets in the Near East gives it "a tangible advantage over the Arab countries." And the Moroccan newspaper L'OPINION bluntly warns that Israel's capability to launch a certain quantity of spy satellites could push the Zionist leadership into embarking on a large-scale military adventure in the region.

This danger could grow even further. After all, Israel is actively working on the creation [sozdaniye] of its own powerful missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads, in other words it is creating [sozdayet] a first-strike potential against any country within the range of these missiles whose targets, incidentally, will be identified by satellites of the "Horizon" type. Furthermore, Tel Aviv wants to create [sozdat], with U.S. assistance and using the "Arrow" interceptor missiles, a defense system against a possible retaliation strike or, in other words, to protect itself behind some sort of "space shield."

By assisting Tel Aviv's further arms buildup, the United States is frankly demonstrating support for Israel's aggressive course and its own line aimed at torpedoing peace efforts in the Near East.

Shevardnadze, Others Meet Israeli Official

TA0311061688 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] A delegation of Jewish leaders visiting Moscow today will continue talks with Soviet officials. From the Soviet capital, Jewish Agency Chairman Simcha Dinitz told reporter David Ze'ev that the Soviets have kept their promise to arrange meetings with leaders in the Gorbachev government.

[Begin recording] [Dinitz] I had a brief meeting yesterday with the foreign minister, Mr Shevardnadze, and a very long and working meeting with the minister of religious affairs for 3 hours, and we continue to meet with him and his staff this morning for the main purpose of our visit.

[Ze'ev] How long will you be in the Soviet Union?

[Dinitz] I will be returning at the beginning of the week.

[Ze'ev] I know you cannot go into detail as to what was discussed during these meetings, but can you tell me if the Soviets have been receptive so far to the idea of increasing the outlets of Jewish culture in that country?

[Dinitz] They are being receptive. First of all, the very fact that we are here. It is not a usual thing and it is not a normal thing, and they are of course very much aware of it, as we are.

[Ze'ev] Have you had an opportunity to meet with members of the Jewish community?

[Dinitz] Oh, yes. I've met with them on a number of occasions, and I will continue to meet with them. Last night we were guests of the Yiddish theater, which made a special performance for us. It was extremely touching and extremely emotional, and in addition to their Yiddish repertoire, they sang two songs in Hebrew, maybe for the first time in a long time. [end recording]

Israeli Official Departs

TA0711081088 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Jewish Agency Chairman Simcha Dinitz returned from Moscow last night, saying that the Soviet Union had agreed to the establishment of a Jewish cultural center in the capital, and to place no limitation on published materials and lecturers for the center. He said a team would leave shortly from Israel to discuss the technical details. Dinitz, who went there together with other Jewish leaders Edgar Bronfman and Mendel Kaplan, returned clearly pleased with the results of his talks and meetings. Reporter Le'a Zinder asked about the reported criticism from Jewish activists who said that instead of one Jewish cultural center it would have been better to attempt to spread the learning of Hebrew and Jewish culture at a grass roots level.

[Begin recording] [passage omitted on Dinitz' remarks on the Jewish cultural center] [Zinder] The other subject that is of great interest to Israelis, of course, is the opening of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel. Who were the officials with whom you met, and was the subject raised?

[Dinitz] Well, I have met briefly with the foreign minister, Mr Shevardnadze; at much greater length with the minister of religious affairs, Mr Kharchev, [name, title as heard] two meetings; and with Mr Arbatov, the director of the United States of America and Canada Institute. I did not come to ask for diplomatic relations, but obviously the subject of—I would define it differently—the subject of increasing the dialogue was served by the very fact that they allowed me there and invited me there. I think they are interested in a dialogue; I think they are interested in continuing the dialogue; and I think that the basic decision for diplomatic relations has been made, that we are moving towards that direction. The pace of it, the speed of it, the rhythm of it, will depend to a large extent on political developments. [end recording]

[Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew at 0600 GMT on 7 November reports further on Dinitz' comments on his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, as follows: "Shevardnadze stressed the desire to continue the dialogue and advance toward peace. Shevardnadze raised both hands, saying that peace is the most important thing to be brought to the region, and the Soviet Union will continue efforts in this direction. I made it clear that Israel too yearns for peace, that this yearning is not the Soviet Union's alone. The very fact that he received me in his office, at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, indicates a desire to break the ice, in a manner of speaking, which enveloped our relations over the last 21 years."]

Observer Assesses Mideast Peace Prospects

PM0311115588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Konstantin Geyvandov "Political Observer's Opinion": "Near East: Prospects for a Settlement"]

[Text] This is the 3d month that the guns on the Iran-Iraq front have been silent. The cease-fire agreement which came into effect 20 August is holding. The process of negotiations between the belligerents, organized and orchestrated by the UN secretary general, is also making headway, albeit with great creaking and half-steps. I am sure that, given goodwill, it must lead in the end to a peaceful settlement of the years-long armed conflict in which Iran and Iraq became embroiled. This is very important not only for the destinies of the two said countries but also for the region as a whole.

The cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front has inspired many people with hope that it will be possible in the very near future to initiate the settlement of a still older conflict here—the Arab-Israeli conflict, at whose core lies the Palestinian problem. Why? I believe there are many reasons. But chiefly because the ending of the Iran-Iraq war serves as proof of the vitality of the concept advanced by the new thinking of channeling regional conflicts and crises toward political solutions. With its key elements—the rejection of military force as a means of resolving vexed questions and the search for political solutions based on a balance of the interests of all sides.

What, then, are the prospects for an overall Near East settlement in light of what I have said, and in what direction are the sides involved in the crisis moving today?

Of course, there are no unambiguous answers and assessments of their actions. So we have to speak only of trends on the basis of an analysis of recent facts. A few days ago, for example, a tripartite meeting—of PLO Executive Committee Chairman Y. 'Arafat, King Husayn of Jordan, and President H. Mubarak of the Arab Republic of Egypt—was held in the Jordanian port city of Aqabah. It came as a surprise to many people, since it was known that relations between the Jordanian monarch and the PLO leader had been strained, so to speak, for quite a while.

Nevertheless, the meeting took place and, to judge from statements by its participants, was successful. First, so they believe, a positive contribution was made in Aqabah to the joint Arab effort aimed at supporting the Palestinian people's struggle to realize their legitimate national rights. The months-long uprising that is continuing on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip must be borne in mind here. Second, the talks participants reaffirmed that, in their opinion, the only path leading to the achievement of an all-embracing, just, and lasting peace in the Near East lies by way of convening an international conference under UN auspices with the participation of all the sides involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict, including Israel and the PLO, and also the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

After this, Egyptian President Mubarak and PLO Executive Committee Chairman 'Arafat visited Baghdad, where they held consultations with President S. Husayn of Iraq. And, speaking at a news conference at the end of that meeting, the PLO leader mentioned that a session of the Palestine National Council (parliament in exile) is being convened mid-November, during which it is planned to adopt a number of important decisions aimed at a just political settlement of the Near East crisis. Summing up the results of these meetings and consultations, the world press makes a positive assessment of them, believing that the Arabs are displaying readiness to end the Arab-Israeli conflict around the negotiating table.

But how do things stand in the opposite camp? Regular elections to the Knesset were held in Israel 1 November. It is characteristic that, whatever problems the political parties competing for deputies' seats discussed during the election campaign, the discussion always turned to problems of peace. And here the positions of the main opponents, who have alternated in power in Israel since it was founded, stood out clearly. The "Likud" bloc in the person of Y. Shamir, the country's present prime minister, still has not the slightest wish to hear of any talks on returning the occupied territories to the Arabs and restoring the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, primarily their right to self-determination. What is more, Shamir promises his voters that, if he secures in the election a mandate for one-man rule, he will deal most mercilessly with the Palestinians' uprising.

Foreign Minister S. Peres, who heads the Israeli Labor Party, appears to support the idea of holding an international conference on the Near East under UN auspices. But, as before, he is categorically opposed to any contacts with the PLO, even though it is the universally recognized legitimate and sole representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

It need hardly be said that this stand was sharply criticized by Israel's progressive, peace-loving, and democratic forces, which are seeking an overall just Near East settlement around a peaceful negotiating table. But this is not all. For example, A. Eban, chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Commission, who is close to the Labor Party leader, has also welcomed the Arab leaders' recent steps, declaring, in particular, that "there are moderate elements in the Arab world who are trying to get the peace process out of the impasse." Making an almost analogous assessment of the Arab leaders' actions, the Israeli opposition newspaper 'AL HAMISHMAR recently wrote editorially: "It is deplorable that Israel alone refuses to look openly at reality, take moderate stands, and make a compromise."

However, it has to be said that things are shaping up far from simply in the Arab camp too. The contradictions and disagreements that exist in it are now once again manifesting themselves most sharply in Lebanon. Owing to the disruption of the latest presidential election and the attitude to the two existing governments, that long-suffering country has been brought to the brink of a renewed bloody civil war. And it would be surprising if the Israeli military failed to take advantage of the situation that has come about. Tel Aviv aircraft carry out almost daily bombing raids against Lebanese cities and villages, and, according to incoming reports, powerful forces are being assembled in the occupied south of Lebanon for a new large-scale invasion deep into that country's territory.

Again in defiance of common sense. As though the Arab-Israeli conflict, which has lasted more than 40 years, and the almost 14-year Lebanese crisis had not yet convincingly enough discredited military force as a means of resolving disputed problems.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Nigerian Army Commander Visits 28 Oct-1 Nov

Welcomed by Ivanovskiy

PM0111140188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "On an Official Visit"]

[Text] Lieutenant General S. Abacha, Nigerian Army chief of staff and member of the Armed Forces Ruling Council, arrived in the Soviet Union on an official visit 26 October.

The guest from Nigeria was met at the airport by Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, commander in chief of Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, and by other generals and officers.

The welcoming party included Isa Modibbo, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to the USSR.

Received by Yazov

PM0811104388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Departure from Moscow"]

[Text] On 1 November Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, received Lieutenant General S. Abacha, member of Nigeria's Armed Forces Ruling Council and Land Forces commander, who is on an official visit to the Soviet Union. During the friendly conversation they discussed questions of mutual interest. Taking part in the conversation were Colonel General D.A. Grinkevich, chief of the Ground Forces General Staff, and other officials.

Isa Modibbo, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to the USSR, attended the meeting.

Lt Gen S. Abacha, member of Nigeria's Armed Forces Ruling Council and Land Forces commander, left Moscow the same day.

The Nigerian guest was seen off at the airport by Col Gen D.A. Grinkevich, chief of the Ground Forces General Staff, and other generals and officers.

Isa Modibbo, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to the USSR, was among the sendoff party.

National Day Cables Exchanged With Nigeria

PM0811145988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] On the occasion of the national day of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the 28th anniversary of the proclamation of its independence, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sent to the country's president, General I. Babangida, a telegram conveying to the leadership and the whole Nigerian people warm greetings and wishes for success in the cause of national building. The telegram notes that people in the Soviet Union perceive with satisfaction the widening cooperation between our two states and the closeness of their approaches in the international arena. Confidence is expressed that the traditional friendly Soviet-Nigerian relations will continue to strengthen and develop for the benefit of our countries' peoples.

In reply, President I. Babangida expressed heartfelt thanks for the greetings and, on behalf of Nigeria's government and people, conveyed to the Soviet people best wishes for progress and prosperity.

Kamentsev Holds Talks With Angolan Officials

PM0211101588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] On 28 October V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, held a conversation with A.H. da Silva, Angolan minister of planning; C.A. Fernandes, Angolan minister of transport and communications; and A. Inacio, director of the National Bank of Angola; who are accompanying the country's president on a working visit to the USSR.

The state of and prospects for further development of Soviet-Angolan trade and economic ties were examined during the friendly conversation.

V.N. Kazimirov, USSR ambassador to Angola, took part in the conversation.

Angolan President Cited on USSR Visit

PM0811142788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On the Results of the Visit"]

[Text] Luanda, 3 Nov—Our visit to the USSR enabled us to discuss with the Soviet leadership the problems associated with the situation in the south of Africa, in particular, the process of quadrapartite talks between Angola, Cuba, the RSA, and the United States, and also to analyze the progress in the development of Angolan-Soviet relations, both at party and at government level, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] and president of Angola, stated in an interview with JORNAL DE ANGOLA.

The discussion of a broad range of questions was of a frank and open character and led to positive results, he said.

Talking about the program for financial and economic improvement being implemented within Angola, the president said that like the restructuring in the USSR it is geared toward liberating the creative initiative of the working masses and making more rational use of resources for the sake of the people's welfare and the accelerated development of society. These processes are opening up new and broader opportunities for cooperation between the two states. Moreover, we can discuss with the USSR the question of the mutually complementary nature of our countries' economies, which are organizationally and structurally based on the principles of socialism.

Further on Dos Santos Talks

PM0811144188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[APN correspondent Yuriy Bogomolov report on interview with J.E. Dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, in Moscow: "Angola's President: Settlement Is Possible"—date not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] J.E. Dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, gave an interview to APN correspondent Yuriy Bogomolov at the conclusion of his working visit to the USSR.

As regards the results of his talks with Soviet leaders, Dos Santos said: Ours was a working visit to the USSR. It took place at a time of a certain easing of tension in southern Africa. We came here in order to meet Soviet leaders at different levels. Naturally, we looked forward with keen interest to the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and with whom we intended to discuss progress at the quadripartite talks between Angola, Cuba, the RSA, and the United States on a peaceful settlement in Southwest Africa. We also came here in order to analyze the development of bilateral relations, interparty and intergovernmental alike.

I must say that the meeting and talks with M. Gorbachev were fruitful, took place in an open and sincere atmosphere, and touched on a broad range of problems.

We think that the talks will give a new boost to bilateral cooperation in various spheres and will make it possible to achieve closer collaboration between the two countries for the purpose of accelerating the process of talks and the conclusion of an all-embracing agreement that would help to give independence to Namibia and would guarantee peace and security in the region.

Asked whether the possibility of the Soviet Union's participation in the quadripartite talks had been discussed in Moscow, Dos Santos said that the Soviet Union is not a direct party to the quadripartite talks but has followed this process from the very beginning, including through the USSR Foreign Ministry representative who was recently present in all countries where talks were held.

No direct participation is planned for the Soviet Union at the closing stages of discussions on the agreement. But we wish, the president emphasized, the Soviet Union to continue to exert a positive influence for the acceleration of the agreement's conclusion.

Commenting on the RSA's decision to unilaterally postpone the start of the implementation of the UN plan on Namibia from 1 November this year, as was decided in

Geneva, to 1 January next year, Dos Santos noted that the certain indecisiveness by RSA authorities in this context is evidently related to the municipal elections held there at the end of October. The implementation of Resolution 435 could start in November, December, or January.

As regards the question of a schedule for the withdrawal of Cuban internationalists from Angola, it ought to be noted that things started moving following the Brazzaville round of talks. The RSA suggested a period of 7 months there, and a little later accepted 12 months. We initially offered 48 months and then 36. By way of a compromise, the United States suggested 24 months. When I speak of progress on this issue, I mean that attempts were made in New York to bring the sides' positions closer together. The present positions are 24 and 30 months, the president pointed out.

Socialist States Promoting Education of Angolans

LD0811163688 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Excerpts] In Angola, 1988 is called the year of economic and financial rejuvenation. The social, economic, and financial program set forth by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola, is just beginning to be implemented, but of course it has to do not only with economy. The change in the situation also affects the social problems of the republic. This is what Yelena Olgina writes on the score:

The development of popular education was always one of the priority trends of the country's social policy., Of course, Angola is still spending a considerable part of its budget on military needs. But the four-sided talks on a peaceful settlement going on in Angola give hope that it is a temporary necessity. But we should bear in mind that the government of People's Angola is doing all that in conditions of an unceasing war, in particular how it is developing popular education. [passage omitted]

Of course, so far it's the question of the lowest stage of education, but in conditions of Angola it's a considerable achievement. [passage omitted]

The main obstacle hindering Angola's progress after the war is a lack of national personnel. Angola has no opportunity to train them. It's not by chance that it appealed to the socialist countries for help soon after the promulgation of independence.

The USSR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, and other socialist countries grant allowances to Angolan students of various specialities through state institutions and public organizations. In Moscow alone they study at the Patrice Lumumba University, junior colleges, and vocational schools, in the Higher YCL School and the higher school of the trade union movement.

On 11 November, on the day when the independence of Angola is marked, dozens and dozens of Angolans studying in Moscow get together in the Friendship House. They can also be met in the other cities of the Soviet Union. For them, Russian is a language of knowledge and the Soviet people—friends whom they remember with love and gratitude, years after when they are at home in their native country.

Foreign Ministry Official on Mogadishu Talks

EA0311154788 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 31 Oct 88

[Excerpts] The improved relations between the Soviet Union and Somalia have greatly contributed to the presentation of credentials by Somalia's new ambassador to the USSR, Comrade Abdullahi Egal Nur. Speaking at an official ceremony in the Kremlin on that occasion, the new envoy stressed the important role the USSR continues to play in finding solutions to the conflicts in the region.

Earlier, talks between the USSR and the Somali Democratic Republic took place in Mogadishu. Yuriy Yukalov, a department head in the Soviet Foreign Ministry, commented on the relations between the two countries in an interview with a Radio Moscow correspondent. He was asked what he could tell us on the outcome of the recent Mogadishu talks.

[Begin recording] [Yukalov, in Russian with superimposed Somali translation] The political talks between the USSR and Somalia held in Mogadishu have produced a good result. This was not the first attempt to improve the relationship. In 1977 a period of indifference, which the Soviet Union was not responsible for, started, but the world continues to change and views also change. The views of the Somali leaders changed. The truth is that the USSR had no bad feelings toward Somalia and has no such feelings now.

In 1986, following contacts by diplomats from the Soviet Union and Somalia, it was resolved to hold political consultations to discuss how to renew the friendly relations that used to exist between our two countries. The first meeting therefore took place in November 1986. It was agreed at that meeting that cooperation at government level should be resumed. It was also resolved to reestablish the political relationship and collaboration in trade and education. Therefore the political consultations between the Soviet Union and the SDR are historical.

The latest meeting between the two countries took place in Mogadishu. These meetings have resulted in agreements for further cooperation. At the meeting in Mogadishu it was resolved to resume parliamentary cooperation and to revive the cooperation between the social organizations in the two countries. Trade and economic collaboration between the Soviet Union and Somalia in

1989-90 was also discussed. A memorandum of understanding on the agreements reached was also signed. It is obvious therefore that relations between the two countries have improved.

It is now necessary to implement the agreements reached. The agreements, which are couched in political terms, should first be translated into ordinary language for the purpose of implementing them.

The interests and capabilities of the two countries should be taken into consideration when implementing the agreements. In this direction the positive attitude demonstrated by both sides is encouraging. The improved relations between the Soviet Union and Somalia is not an isolated step. It is in sympathy with the mood currently existing in the Horn of Africa.

The Soviet Union decided to improve its relations with Somalia, bearing in mind the need to support the positive changes taking place in the Horn of Africa. We hope the cooperation between the Soviet Union and Somalia will serve to promote the changes already taking place. The Soviet Union will do its best to assist in the creation of an atmosphere of peace and goodneighborliness in the Horn of Africa.

[Correspondent] Will the improved relations between the Soviet Union and Somali have no adverse effects on the interests of countries outside the Horn of Africa?

[Yukalov] The Soviet policy in the Horn of Africa is aimed at normalizing the situation there and will not have any negative effect on other countries. The Soviet Union is not seeking to promote its interests in the region. Our sole aim is for that region to achieve peace and stability. [end recording]

New Somali Ambassador Presents Credentials

LD2910164488 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received Abdullahi Egal Nur, newly- appointed ambassador of the Somali Democratic Republic in the Soviet Union, in the Kremlin today.

Presenting his credentials, the ambassador emphasized that Somalia is watching with interest and attention the revolutionary process of restructuring in the Soviet Union. On behalf of the Somali leadership, Abdullahi Egal Nur wished success to the Soviet people in carrying out perestroyka.

The ambassador praised the Soviet Union's efforts aimed at averting the nuclear threat and creating a comprehensive system of international security. He made special notice of the Soviet Union's position of principle with regard for a peaceful settlement of the situation in trouble spots as well as regional conflicts.

Receiving the credentials on behalf of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its president, Anatoliy Lukyanov called the ambassador's attention to the fact that the concept of new political thinking advanced by the Soviet Union is being entwined ever more noticeably in the system of inter-state relations and is being realised in specific steps to resolve the key problems of today and find a just and peaceful settlement of the crisis situations and regional conflicts.

In this context, the sides expressed satisfaction with Soviet-Somali agreements on normalizing bilateral relations and confirmed the Soviet Union's readiness to support this process and the efforts of the two countries to establish peace and good-neighbourly relations in the Horn of Africa.

It was noted that the recent process of improvement in the Soviet-Somali relations is meeting the interests of the two peoples.

After the presentation ceremony, Anatoliy Lukyanov and Abdullahi Egal Nur had a conversation. They discused the development of the Soviet-Somali relations as well as international and regional problems presenting mutual interest.

Commentary Analyzes Western Aid to Somalia

LD0811150288 Moscow in English to Africa 2000 GMT 26 Oct 88

[From the "Africa As We See It" program—unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] And now we analyze the positive and the negative aspects of Western aid to Somalia. First, the latest agreements between Somalia and the United States, under which Somalia borrowed $3.9 million to purchase 5,000 tons of edible oil and transport it from the United States. [passage omitted]

This oil is not the only debt Somalia owes to the United States, even though the agreement provides for rescheduling the repayment of debts. Repayment of $4 million was postponed till 1993, and that of $6.1 million till 1996. The rescheduling was not a bad thing, but two forced devaluations of the Somali shilling and the complete foreign debt as a whole made the possibility of even delayed repayment quite problematic.

Out of the $75 million of American aid, Somalia will get this year only slightly more than one half, which includes $5 million worth of military aid. [passage omitted]

What about aid from other countries? Italian aid to Somalia amounts to 200 billion lira a year, but (Jasper Forte), director of the special fund for urgent struggle and crop failure, wasted 210 billion lira, an equivalent of $150 million, on building a motor road in the northeast of Somalia. The road was built by the Italian company Viscaldi Tanner and (Lodizdani) at a time when other roads, factories and irrigation facilities fell into disrepair because of a lack of funds. [passage omitted]

So far, the situation connected with Western aid reflects a Somali proverb: Fog came from where rain was expected.

Committee Delegation To Meet ANC in FRG

MB2410162988 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1830 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] A Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee [AAPSO] delegation will visit West Germany on 23 October to meet white South African antiapartheid activists and the ANC.

AAPSO Deputy Secretary Vasiliy Solodovnikov, who is leading the Soviet delegation, spoke at a news conference that included representatives from the Soviet Information Department:

[Begin Solodovnikov recording in Russian fading into Zulu translation] This meeting involves continued communication between us and progressive South African forces.

The Soviet Union has recently hosted prominent figures such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop [title as heard] Alan Boesak, (Moolapale Issak), and others struggling for independence in South Africa.

This meeting will allow the Soviet delegation to explain Soviet internal and external policies to South Africans, especially those policies on resolving southern Africa's problems. We wish to stress at the meeting that the Soviet Union does not regard southern Africa as a place of contention between the East and the West and that the Soviet Union continues the tradition of solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa, who are fighting to eradicate apartheid and racism.

The South African situation is worsened by events within that country and not by problems imported from outside. The apartheid regime is the major source of conflict, and this will continue to be the case as long as apartheid survives. Apartheid is also the cause for many of southern Africa's problems. As we see it, only the eradication of apartheid will bring peace and progress to the region.

The Soviet peoples are not against white South Africans, but are against the apartheid government. This kind of government is even opposed by Whites in South Africa—those who have joined the ANC and those who are SACP members. The AAPSO also opposes apartheid. We also wish to reiterate our support and solidarity with the ANC and other progressive forces and assure that this will never change.

The Soviet Union has no military intentions in southern Africa. The Soviet peoples support a solution devised by the people of South Africa and support the sentiments of the ANC and other progressive South African forces that a lasting solution can only be found if each and every South African is given the right to vote in a land without apartheid. [end recording]

East Europe

Jaruzelski, Thatcher Speak at Warsaw Dinner

PM0811151188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "M. Thatcher in Warsaw"]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Nov—The first-ever visit to Poland of a British head of government is an event of tremendous importance in our bilateral relations and is also significant for Europe as a whole, W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Polish State Council, has said. Speaking at a dinner in honor of Prime Minister M. Thatcher of Great Britain, who is in Poland on an official visit, he noted that this visit is taking place in an historically important period, when the new thinking is increasingly asserting itself and detente is making itself felt more and more in international relations.

Europe, the Polish leader pointed out, is now engaged in a quest for new paths. The concept of a "common European home" is being born, and this is opening up great opportunities for all people living between Lisbon and Sverdlovsk, Edinburgh and Palermo. Poland is an ardent champion of this great idea. The development of economic cooperation is assuming special importance at the moment. Poland is ready for broad, mutually advantageous cooperation. While seeking to enhance the effectiveness of CEMA, we are simultaneously trying to collaborate constructively with the EEC and to develop all-around bilateral and multilateral relations with all partners in Europe and beyond.

W. Jaruzelski expressed confidence that the successful development of Polish-British relations will be a valuable contribution to the all-European process.

In her reply speech, M. Thatcher said that in Great Britain and in Europe there is great readiness for large-scale, varied contacts, which is combined with a desire for the peoples of East Europe to play a significantly greater role in the life of the continent. It is for this reason, the head of the British Government stressed, that we want to expand economic and trade contacts between the countries of the European Community and the socialist states. It is for this reason that we have welcomed the bold and courageous reforms undertaken by M.S. Gorbachev in the Soviet Union and sincerely hope that he will be successful.

The head of the British Government noted the longstanding tradition of Polish-British contacts in various spheres and expressed hope that both sides will succeed in restoring them in the new climate of present-day Europe. At the same time M. Thatcher reiterated the conditions under which the development of cooperation might take this turn, referring to changes on Poland's domestic political scene. The thesis of the alleged superiority of Warsaw Pact states over NATO in the military sphere was also repeated.

Opposition Thwarts Polish Roundtable

PM0811110788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent L. Toporkov "Letter From Warsaw": "With Their Backs to the Open Doors"]

[Text] So the "roundtable" which has inspired considerable hope in Polish society and by which people are setting such store—because its aim is to start the process of national accord—is being repeatedly postponed. The fact is that the different sides have prepared for it in different ways. The authorities, which proposed the meeting—and a condition of this meeting was that there should be no preconditions—have patiently worked out the details of the future multilateral talks. But members of the banned "Solidarity" movement have taken it upon themselves to organize street riots and "marches," which have begun (this has almost become the rule now!) at several churches. Some higher education establishments have also become the arena for antisocialist demonstrations. At the Jagiellonian and Warsaw Universities, for example, some of the students have announced a boycott on classes in military affairs, social disciplines, and the Russian language.

This is the way, so typical of "Solidarity," that the attitude toward the idea of a "roundtable" has been expressed. A meeting was held in Warsaw between the greatest extremists (Kuron, Geremek, Onyszkiewicz, Mazowiecki, and Bujak) and representatives of various underground organizations. They reaffirmed that a condition for opening the "roundtable" meeting must be the legalization of "Solidarity," which is virtually a political party that operates in the guise of a trade union and has set itself the aim of dismantling socialism in Poland and tearing the country away from the socialist community.

The explanation, people here believe, is quite simple. If figures from opposition circles agreed to the "roundtable" talks—that is, spoke in favor of national accord and joint responsibility for the fate of the country—and especially if some of their number occupied the seats in the government intended for them, they would simply lose the substantial dollar handouts officially allocated by the U.S. Congress for a special purpose—to "aid 'Solidarity'" (in actual fact, to pay its ruling elite). Some $3 million a year! In the pay of another state and, consequently, acting as its agents, the opposition is in the clover.

That is why now, when the government has placed the opposition in a tricky situation with its proposal to hold a meeting, the members of that opposition are trying to dodge the issue. If you do not legalize "Solidarity," they say, we will not sit down at the same table. And if we do sit down, it will have to be a bilateral meeting rather than a "roundtable." The government on one side and "Solidarity" on the other. They still use the formula: "We and the other side." But what about the legal trade unions (7 million people!), representatives of the United Peasants Party and Democratic Party, organs of self-government, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, and, finally, representatives of the church and other religious organizations? What about the pluralism ostensibly so jealously guarded in opposition circles? How is one to interpret the organization of all kinds of street disturbances, antigovernment actions, and "fait accompli" tactics whereby grassroots "Solidarity" units are being illegally set up at enterprises? They say this is a trial balloon. It will be interesting, they say, to see how the government reacts to all this....

But the government is not alone in its reaction.... People are outraged, tired of the psychological terror and the realization that some people are trying to turn Poland into an arena of perpetual civil unrest and a land deprived of stability. "I am concerned," R. Kardasz, a worker from Gorzow, wrote to the newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU, "that the same people are going to continue to sow discord, threaten strike action, and organize acts of provocation in the streets and higher education establishments. These people have absolutely nothing in common with either the workers or the peasants. It is no secret that they are paid from abroad—and generously, at that. They are totally uninterested in what I will have to eat tomorrow, while they have everything. Things will become even worse for me if there are more riots in Poland. If Mr Walesa really wanted to reach an agreement, he would sit down at the 'roundtable' come what may in order to improve the situation."

T. Tanas, who lives in Warsaw, had this to add: "They are demanding that 'Solidarity' be registered. And why not? Why can we not do what they do in the United States? If any organization there is subsidized by another state, it has to register as a secret service organization. The proposal that we introduce a similar clause in our own law is right. The fact that we do not have such a clause is an obvious oversight. Work is now in progress on a draft law on unions and societies and also on changes to our Constitution. Let the specialists put their heads together and decide how best to do this."

The term "constructive opposition," which implies an ability on the part of several groups of intelligentsia to think realistically rather than in confrontational terms, entered the political lexicon recently. Unfortunately, signs of this constructive attitude are not really in evidence. In his "open letter to the new premier," published by the newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA, the once famous publicist E. Osmanczyk added fuel to the fire. He put forward a series of demands, favoring, for example, a rejection of the name "Polish People's Republic" with all the attendant consequences. He would also like to see the old Union of Polish Journalists (the inflammatory role this union played during the months of the "Solidarity" orgy is well known) restored to the services of the opposition, with a ramified mass media network. He also insists that, under the new government, permanent representatives of the Polish editorial desks at subversive radio stations be accredited. While justifying the decision of opposition circles not to join the government, Osmanczyk solicits their participation in bodies monitoring the government. You do the work, he says, and we will rate you out of a possible 10....

A game is being played aimed at further dividing society. Addressing the workers aktiv at the Warsaw "Ursus" tractor plant, W. Jaruzelski emphasized that there can be no return to 1980 and 1981. Barricades should not be built where bridges are needed. The partners in the dialogue must primarily be guided by Polish state interests and dissociate themselves from those who, receiving outside financial support, are muddying the waters and living off of people's dissatisfaction with their still difficult living conditions.

The opposition is now attempting to justify itself by alleging that the side to blame for the failure of the "roundtable" is the government, which, they say, is evading talks. But it is a well known fact that, in accordance with the preliminary accord, those members of the opposition loyal to the Constitution and prepared to work within the framework of existing laws were invited to the meeting. After all, it is a question of national accord and historic compromise. Walesa insists, however, that he can do nothing at a "roundtable" without such "assistants" as Kuron and Michnik. Both are renowned in Poland as vehement, uncompromising opponents of the socialist system.

Some publicists have recently tried to portray Walesa as a moderate figure in the illegal structures and a man truly representative of the "constructive opposition." However, one gets the impression that in the underground "Solidarity" organization and extremist groups associated with it all roles are carefully assigned. When it is felt necessary, Kuron or Michnik will be set on the stage. They will have no qualms about expressing themselves. They say what they think. In another instance they will push lecturer Geremek onto the stage—let him practice learned debate. Walesa has been given the role of someone constantly giving interviews. Today he says one thing, tomorrow another, and the next day something else entirely that bears no resemblance to his earlier statements. He is a "working man," they say, you must take him as he comes. But taken together, they are all tarred with the same brush. And they were "tarred" by Walesa's main adviser—Father Jankowski from the Gdansk Church of St Brigid, which, through his endeavors, has been turned into a nest of antisocialist provocation.

In short, the task of these people is one and the same: to muddy the waters and thereby please their foreign master, who pays well. The West is solicitous of "its people" in Poland. No matter how high the rank of the person visiting Poland, he will definitely pay a visit to the opposition bosses—in line with a program not indicated in the protocol. And Walesa always comes first.

Despite this, the authorities are doing everything possible to ensure that the doors of negotiation leading to national accord remain open. The doors to the ministry portfolios reserved for people from the opposition on the new government also remain open, incidentally. But they prefer to stand with their backs to these open doors.

Polish University Students Boycott Classes

PM0811115188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 88 p 3

[Correspondent V. Shutkevich dispatch under the rubric "Pertinent Notes": "Philosopher's Cobblestone: What Is Behind the Boycott of Classes in Some Polish Higher Educational Establishments"]

[Text] Krakow, Warsaw—Krakow is a city of legend. It even owes its name to the mythical figure Krak, who, according to legend, once defeated a dragon here. Standing among the crowd by the tower of the Mariacki church, you are sure to be told about the trumpeter whose warning of enemy invasion aroused the whole city but was cut short by a Tatar arrow. And the low passages and dimly lit lecture halls of the Jagiellonian University still seem to be filled with the memory of those celebrated medieval alchemists Pan Twardowski and Doctor Faustus. The university's oldest building—the revered Collegium Maius—still contains the medieval laboratory where they grasped the "secret" of the philosopher's stone. The stone capable of turning base metal into gold and of restoring youth.

The leaflet fastened to the ancient stone by the entrance to the Collegium Maius had nothing to do with the past. It was an announcement of a student rally held just the night before in front of the university building. The rally discussed the proposals of the self-styled Independent Students Union and the so-called student action group "Ruch Wolnosc i Pokoj" ["Movement for Freedom and Peace"] on a boycott of classes on military training. The leaflet also contained calls not to attend classes on a number of other subjects—such as political economy and the Russian language.

We tried to investigate this along with Dariusz Mulawka and Andrzej Florianczyk, two students at the Jagiellonian University. In the opinion of Dariusz, who is head of the university council of the Association of Polish Students [ZSP], the list of demands is far from a full reflection of the current situation in the university. The students' discontent has other, deeper causes. They are linked with the grave economic crisis which the whole country is now experiencing. The rapidly growing inflation and the rising price of goods has hit students' pockets particularly hard. "To be frank, the students' material situation today is poor," Dariusz Mulawka believes. According to figures published in the newspaper SZTANDAR MLODYCH, the cost of meals in student dining rooms has risen by approximately 1,400 percent while the cost of a hostel place has risen by 2,000 percent. At the same time student grants have risen by less than 1,200 percent.

Meanwhile, Andrzej's own situation is more or less satisfactory: He lives with his family in Krakow itself. But out-of-town students have it much tougher. The demand for hostel accommodation is scarcely half met. Poland's oldest "akademik"—university hall of residence—has been under repair for 9 years now. The situation is hardly going to improve in the near future. The university is experiencing serious financial difficulties which are affecting not only students' everyday lives but also the development of the scientific research base and delaying the introduction of the latest computers and other modern equipment. What are the ZSP students doing in this, to be blunt, difficult situation? Seeking to defend students' rights at the most varied levels—from the university senate to the country's parliament. The fact that the students' material situation has improved somewhat this year is also to its credit. At the suggestion of the ZSP the Ministry of Education adopted the principle of calculating grants using Z23,000 (approximately R170) as the base figure.

If the per capita income in a student's family is, for example, Z15,000, the state will pay the difference—Z8,000—in the form of a grant. And the less well off the student's parents are, the larger the grant is.

The ZSP also has quite a few initiatives of its own. In the very near future student housing cooperatives, insurance societies, and an economic initiatives fund are going to be set up.

However, the ZSP works mainly on young people's social and consumer problems. As Dariusz Mulawka stresses, it cannot represent the interests of the student body as a whole. The vacuum which resulted in the past was exploited by supporters of the so-called Independent Students Union, which was disbanded back in 1982.

Active attempts are being made in many Polish higher educational establishments now to revive the Independent Students Union and secure its legalization. We saw how this is being done at the Collegium Maius, the main building of the Jagiellonian University. In a first floor hallway an announcement was hung where it would be most visible: "Registrations to the Independent Students Union daily from 1030-1430 in lecture theater 38." This lecture theater is on the second floor 10 yards from the vice chancellor's office. My interlocutors and I decided to look in. The room was quite crowded. Several young people, sitting around as though they owned the place, asked the students gathered around them to fill in applications for union membership.

Medieval magicians used to study secret signs so as to understand the mystery of the forces moving the universe. Today's magicians, as we have seen, use other signs—the symbols of "Solidarity." They do not illuminate the picture of creation, of course, but they can provide an insight into the forces which move the Independent Students Union. The slogans which that union uses and the methods of its work also become clearer.

As W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, stressed recently, attempts to question the expediency of military service, including military training in higher educational establishment, cause grave concern. The Polish Army is one of the main guarantees of the country's sovereignty, security, and authority.

With regard to other demands by the participants in the boycott the Polish Government's press spokesman, J. Urban, has noted: "The economic reform is entering an intensive stage, yet students at Poland's oldest higher educational institution reject political economy—the science of the principles of economic management. They are also seeking the abolition of the compulsory study of social and political sciences, sociology, and Russian, the language of Tolstoy and glasnost. Essentially, this is a desire to turn their backs on modernity. If we pursue those trends we will have a generation of intellectuals lacking the means of understanding what is going on in society and the economy, lacking the means to cooperate with the peoples of our great neighboring state."

However, the boycott is still going on in Poland's higher educational institutions. The appeal by the vice chancellors of Krakow's higher educational institutions to the students to return to their classes and to discuss everything concerning the content of the curriculum in a businesslike atmosphere has gone unanswered, unfortunately. As we were leaving Krakow the Polish press carried a report that participants in the boycott had beaten up a teacher in the military department who had tried to reason with them. Instead of looking for the "philosopher's stone" they are picking up cobblestones from the road....

Meanwhile, the philosopher's stone is just what Poland needs today. A stone of wisdom and good sense.

CPCZ Presidium Discusses Adamec Moscow Visit

PM0811155588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report "Results of Visit Approved"]

[Text] Prague, 4 Nov—The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed the results of the working visit to the USSR of L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czechoslovak premier. It was emphasized that the talks in Moscow provided new impetus and made it possible to reach important agreements on further economic cooperation between the two countries. Attention was drawn to the development of new forms of cooperation and in particular direct production ties between enterprises and organizations in Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

The session examined the main propositions of the Czechoslovak Government policy statement to be delivered by L. Adamec in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly 8 November.

Albanian Trade Union Plenum Noted

PM0811139988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Nov 88 p 1

[TASS report: "Albanian Trade Unions"]

[Text] Tirana, 2 Nov—ATA reports that a plenum of the Albanian Central Council of Trade Unions has been held in Tirana.

The report by S. Kocollari, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, and speeches by plenum participants noted that by their concrete, vigorous actions the country's working people are helping carry out the tasks set by the party.

The plenum was addressed by R. Marko, member of the AWP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Albanian People's Assembly Presidium. He expressed his conviction that the working class, the cooperative peasantry, and all Albanian working people will intensify their work to fulfill the AWP Central Committee Plenum's decisions.

West Europe

Petrovskiy Receives UK Parliamentarians

PM0811145388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy has received and had a conversation with a delegation from the UK House of Commons Select Committee on Foreign Affairs headed by Committee Chairman D. Howell.

UK Scientists' 'Unsolved' Deaths Cause Concern

PM0811133388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Oct 88 First Edition p 5

[A. Biryukov dispatch: "First Victims of 'Star Wars'? The Mysterious Disappearance of British Scientists Is of Concern to the Country's Public"]

[Text] London—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA wrote last June about the mysterious and still unsolved suicides of leading British scientists. Since then, however, events have changed, so that it is already possible to speak of the existence of a plot against British science. Let us briefly recall the essence of this affair.

...February 1988. Peter Peapell, 46 years old, a scientist of outstanding reputation, a specialist in computer technology, and a staffer of the Royal Military College of Science located in the town of Shrivenham (Oxfordshire County), had just returned with his wife from a happy party. Maureen went up to the bedroom on the first floor, while her husband said that he would join her as soon as he had put the car in the garage. Peter's wife soon fell fast asleep without waiting for him to come. In the morning she discovered his body in the garage. Peter's body lay under the car, right by the exhaust pipe, with the car's engine still running. P. Peapell was working on projects marked "secret" at the Marconi military-industrial corporation.

...October 1986. Ashad Sharif, a 26-year-old scientist, was preparing for a meeting with Eric Deakins, his constituency member of parliament. He wanted to ask the parliamentarian to "take in hand" the bureaucrats who were delaying the issue of an entry visa to his fiancee. But the meeting did not take place. On that day Ashad tied one end of a rope to a tree and wound the other end firmly around his neck. Then he got into his car and floored the gas pedal... A. Sharif worked for Marconi too. His work was classified.

David Sands, 37 years old, a scientist and specialist in the sphere of space satellites and air defense systems, was working on a top-secret project in the same corporation. His turn in the tragic list of mysterious killings came in April 1987.

I do not think you have to be Sherlock Holmes or Hercules Poirot to draw the conclusion: a suspicious affair. Something is suspicious within the walls of Marconi.

DAILY TELEGRAPH journalists continued this rather terrible list: The number of scientists who have died in mysterious circumstances reached nine. The body of computer technology expert Vimal Dajibhai was discovered beneath a bridge in Bristol; the scientist Robert Greenhalgh leaped from a railroad bridge; the nuclear physicist Trevor Knight was poisoned by exhaust gases; Colin Fisher, also a nuclear physicist, died of knife wounds; and John Ferry was "electrocuted" in his own home. They all worked for Marconi, too, and on different top-secret projects connected in one way or another with the implementation of the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative" program, better known as the "Star Wars" program.

So it would be possible to speak of some covert secret of the Marconi Corporation. But let us not draw hasty conclusions, for new data which were made public quite recently attest to something else.

The latest victim, Andrew Hall, who died according to a scenario already well known to readers—the exhaust gases of his own car—did not work for Marconi. He was a high-ranking staffer of another military-industrial company—British Aerospace...

THE SUNDAY TIMES recently published an article that came as a bombshell. In its opinion, 22 scientists connected with Defense Ministry work, including SDI, "have died in mysterious circumstances over the past 6 years." According to this list, five of them died as a result of poisoning by exhaust gases, five died in car crashes, two suffocated in plastic bags drawn over their heads, three made "death leaps," two were "electrocuted," one shot himself with a shotgun, one swallowed a lethal dose of drugs, one died of a heart attack, one suffocated himself, and, finally, Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Godley, a military expert, disappeared without trace.

They all worked for subdivisions of the General Electric Corporation, Marconi, the Plessey and British Aerospace companies, the Royal Military College of Science at Shrivenham, or other Defense Ministry research centers. They had been working on developments [razrabotki] under the "Star Wars" program.

Meanwhile, representatives of the authorities and the corporations categorically deny, first, the mysterious nature of the deaths and, second, the fact that the scientists were connected with top-secret developments. THE SUNDAY TIMES cited the following words by an unnamed high-ranking Defense Ministry spokesman: "Most of the people on this list have never touched anything classified in their lives. As far as I am aware, there is no connection whatsoever with 'Star Wars.'" Representatives of General Electric who have conducted an investigation have also endeavored to dissociate themselves from this business. "We are satisfied that there is no connection between these deaths," the same newspaper cited Lord Weinstock, the corporation's executive director, as saying.

Just one newspaper—TODAY—believes that there is nothing mysterious in this. Conducting its own investigation, it concluded: "The secret lies... in stress." According to the newspaper, in 1980 the Marconi leadership announced its intention to dismiss 1,000 of its employees. It was anxiety over the future, the tremendous volumes of work created by the staff cuts which had begun, and general nervousness that "unhinged" certain scientists, it believes, citing as an example the case of Roger Hill, a specialist in radar devices.

For a long time the family life of this 49-year-old well-off scientist had been disrupted by nothing special. But then the staffers of his working group began to be dismissed, one after another. The work volumes remained just as great, the deadlines tight, and the demands tough. According to his wife, literally in the space of a few years Roger turned into a bad-tempered monster who terrorized his relatives. Unable to endure it, the wife fled from her husband with their child. Three days later he telephoned and said that he would shoot himself and them. When the family doctor drove up to the Hill's house at the wife's request, he discovered Roger's body there.

It sounds convincing. The authorities have found some explanations for certain other cases. Thus, the police declared that Ashad Sharif had been "involved in an unhappy relationship with a woman."

The police also declared that on the day of Vimal Dajibhai's death he had been drinking with a friend and that an empty wine bottle had been found in the latter's car. However, the friend of the dead man declared that he had never used liquor in his life, and no forensic examination had been carried out in the car.

Relatives of two of the dead men made curious admissions. Hilary Bowden, wife of computer specialist Keith Bowden, who made a "death leap" in a car in 1982, said: "My lawyer thought the death was suspicious, and he instructed a specialist in motor vehicles to examine my husband's car. It turned out that somebody had taken the wheels off and put some others on that were old and worn. But at the inquest we were not allowed to bring this fact up. Someone asked if the car was in sound condition and received an affirmative answer."

Mary Beckham, the wife of Alistair Beckham, an electronics engineer for the firm of Plessey, provided still more interesting details. On that terrible day for her her husband gave her a lift to work and promised to return for her at 2 o'clock. However, he did not turn up at the agreed on time, and Mary returned home alone, where she discovered her dead husband. His body was bound with wires connected to a socket, and a handkerchief was in his mouth. There was no death note, and in one of the doors she discovered a spy hole. As soon as Alistair's death was reported, representatives from Plessey arrived at the house and took away a number of documents, claiming that they were company property. "I believe he was murdered," Mary Beckham told THE SUNDAY TIMES' correspondent. "I told the police that. But they believe it was a carefully planned suicide."

"The number of deaths is continuing to grow," British MP Douglas Hoyle told THE SUNDAY TIMES. "It is too large now to be a simple coincidence." MP Martin

Flannery has demanded not only the holding of a painstaking investigation but also the publication of its results. "This is a very suspicious and alarming affair," he declared.

Interviews With Soviet, FRG Food Ministers

USSR's Sizenko

PM0911105588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with USSR Minister Ye.I. Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, by TASS correspondent N. Zuyev, specially for IZVESTIYA: "Field of Cooperation is Expanding"—place and date of interview not given]

[Text] An agreement has been signed between the USSR Gosagroprom and the FRG Federal Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry on assistance in cooperation between enterprises of firms and organizations in the food industry sphere.

USSR Minister Ye.I. Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, comments on this event:

[Sizenko] The modernization of a number of food industry enterprises will be carried out over 2 years by attracting funds from FRG banks and firms. The USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity signed an agreement with the Deutsche Bank on granting credit for financing the import of equipment for the agro-industrial complex processing sectors. It is planned to allocate R500 million for purchasing more than 100 lines for producing low-calorie flour-based confectionery products, pasta, high-quality processed cheese, and also various packing materials for them.

The USSR Gosagroprom has specified 102 enterprises at which equipment which is being purchased will be installed. This will make it possible to modernize 60 facilities for producing better-quality crackers and pasta, 19 for producing processed and hard cheeses, and 13 for manufacturing dehydrated meals and to receive an additional 523,000 tonnes of finished products. In the period 1981 through 1988 equipment worth R285 million was purchased for the reprocessing industry.

[Zuyev] Clearly, this is not a complete list of the ties with the FRG in the agro-industrial complex?

[Sizenko] Yes, they have been implemented since 1977 and are directed at resolving the targeted programs for crop production, crop farming and for plant protection, for livestock raising and feed production, and the mechanization of the processing sectors. An accord was reached recently in the sphere of agrarian research which envisages the further development of joint work between the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences and its institutes and FRG scientific centers in plant breeding and protection, livestock raising and biotechnology. Prospective directions have also been specified for economic cooperation: the modernization of two sugar refineries, the creation of a joint enterprise to produce packing equipment and materials, printing dyes, small-scale breeding equipment, and toothpaste. Business contacts are being developed at the level of individual enterprises and farms.

[Zuyev] Are there concrete results?

[Sizenko] Every year more than 50 types of diverse agricultural crops bred by the FRG are tested on Soviet fields and more than half of them have already been regionalized. Particular attention is being given to intensive technologies. Thus, the "Krasnyy gornyak" sovkhoz and the Chapayev kolkhoz in Lipetsk Oblast are conducting a production experiment with the "Bayer" firm for cultivating winter wheat. This year its yield on farms' experimental fields amounted to between 50 and 60 quintals per hectare. Production experiments have been started with the "Bayer," "BASF" and "Hoechst" firms for the introduction of intensive technologies in different soil and climactic zones in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, and Latvia over an area covering more than 7,000 hectares.

[Zuyev] In what new directions will cooperation move?

[Sizenko] We have big plans. Now in conjunction with the "Rudolf Wild" firm we are studying the possibility of using its flavorings for nonalcoholic drinks, and the "Plodimeks" society is conducting talks to set up a "Russkaya kukhnya" restaurant in Hamburg on the basis of equally shared ownership. Joint work is being conducted in breeding corn, sugar beet, rape, and vegetable crops.

FRG's Kiechle

PM0811093588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Ignaz Kiechle, FRG minister of food, agriculture, and forestry, by S. Guk and B. Lysenko: "Ways of Cooperating With the FRG in Modernizing Agricultural Production: Credit, Equipment, and Experience"—date and place unspecified; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] As we have already reported, a great many accords on cooperation were signed during FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl's recent visit to the Soviet Union. They include an agreement between the USSR Gosagroprom and the FRG Federal Ministry of Food, Agriculture, and Forestry to promote cooperation between enterprises, firms, and organizations in the food industry.

The planned program is extensive: from plant and livestock breeding to the transportation, processing, and storage of agricultural produce. It is true that there are still a number of issues which have to be coordinated and decided. This was discussed during the following conversation between IZVESTIYA and Ignaz Kiechle, FRG minister of food, agriculture, and forestry, who accompanied Chancellor H. Kohl on his visit.

[Correspondents] An agreement between the Soviet and FRG agricultural departments has been signed. What awaits the Soviet consumer?

[Kiechle] The agreement is intended to facilitate the cooperation you seek and for which we are prepared and also to create a legal basis. Another agreement is planned for the future—to protect investments. All this together creates the point of departure for technical investments—primarily the supply of harvesting, transportation, processing, and canning equipment. It is the wish of the Soviet side to modernize this chain extending from the field and the livestock yard to the consumer and make it more productive. We have this kind of equipment and so the position as far as cooperation is concerned is good.

It is now a question of establishing specific areas on which to concentrate our efforts. It goes without saying that we cannot expect gigantic leaps forward in the space of a few months or even within a year. But we are right to expect real accords to be reached and to begin to be implemented, and I would like to make my own contribution to this.

[Correspondents] Obviously, such an extensive, comprehensive modernization program cannot be achieved at one go...

[Kiechle] The question now hinges on the solution of financial problems. Next year, however, the implementation of a series of projects will begin, foundations will be laid, and there will be specific accords on equipment supply. I would like to say one thing in this connection, however: It will not simply be a question of pressing a button and work immediately going into full swing at 500 projects. We must press the button and begin building the 1st project—then it will soon be the turn of the 5th, the 20th, and so on...

[Correspondents] A document prepared by your ministry prior to your visit to the Soviet Union says: Due to a shortage of foreign currency, the Soviet side insists on establishing joint enterprises and concluding barter deals, which makes the situation more difficult. Has a mutually acceptable solution now been found or is this issue still going to be a stumbling block in the future?

[Kiechle] It should not be a stumbling block. I believe we can make rapid progress. But your side is insisting that joint projects are paid for with the output of new joint firms or modernized enterprises. This is possible on the condition that we create a range of enterprises manufacturing not only agricultural products but others also, which could be used to pay off loans.

I said in the Kremlin: There can be no question of exporting agrarian output to the FRG. We cannot import into the EEC as much as we want—we are not independent in this respect. World market prices for produce are extremely low—not very much hard currency can be generated in this way. You will not get away without spending hard currency if you want to solve the Soviet Union's food problem.

But there is another way—to increase your credit. You could take part of your resources, for example, DM1 billion, say, and use them to finance new credit on favorable terms. There should be no problems here, as the USSR has the reputation of being a creditworthy partner. Then a lot more money could be invested in agriculture.

[Correspondents] The same document mentions some chemical firms which have already helped our country to increase its harvest yield. As is well known, not only your public but ours too is mistrustful of chemicals. And not without reason: All these bumper harvests are based on substances by no means harmless to people's health. According to your press reports, the proportion of chemicals used in agriculture in the FRG is noticeably decreasing. So why is the FRG offering us old methods of increasing harvest yield?

[Kiechle] Our press probably takes isolated cases and blows up a problem out of them. I would like to say this: 80 percent of the chemicals used in agriculture in the FRG are not toxic, they are biologically pure. The remainder—which should be cut down, which is something we have not managed to do yet—is used to fight pests. You yourselves can carefully select the chemicals you want to use in your country. But something even more important is this: We have observed that your spraying equipment—understand me correctly, I certainly would not want to criticize—works too extravagantly. The same aims can be achieved by using far less chemicals. We are currently drafting a new law under which all spraying or sprinkling equipment must pass special controls and regulations. And we only use toxic preparations in the most extreme circumstances. [Kiechle ends]

At the end of the conversation the minister emphasized that the two sides have yet to settle a whole series of technical and financial problems before the start of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the FRG, planned for 1989. The implementation of the accords reached will begin after that.

FRG-French Press Conference Cited

*PM0811154188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev dispatch "FRG-France: Leaders' Consultations"]

[Text] Bonn, 4 Nov—The latest Franco-West German summit ended in Bonn today with a joint press conference of F. Mitterrand and H. Kohl in the briefings hall of the federal chancellery.

One of its main themes was relations with the Soviet Union. It is said here that "an in-depth exchange of opinions" took place in the light of the FRG chancellor's recent visit to Moscow and the upcoming talks there between the French leader and the Soviet leadership at the end of November. It was noted in this context that the West German Government's aim in relations with the USSR is the broadening of the foundation of trust and the creation of good-neighborly relations on this basis. At the press conference the chancellor mentioned briefly that this question had been discussed. The president, for his part, did not enlarge on this theme. However, it is known that it took up two-thirds of the time of the leaders's one-on-one talks.

Of late there has been frequent talk about Bonn's striving to coordinate and implement a "common Eastern policy" together with Paris. In addition to political strategy, joint Franco-West German projects in the economic sphere are being considered on the Rhine. The coordination of foreign policy approaches is of itself quite normal in relations between neighbors. The necessary preliminary work can be of significance also in the all-European context. However, the question of who wishes to place what emphases in the "common policy" (on which, it seems, Bonn is particularly keen) is as yet far from clear.

During the current round of consultations, the sides expressed themselves specifically in favor of concluding the elaboration of the mandate of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. H. Kohl backed F. Mitterrand's initiative to convene a conference of the participants in 1985 Geneva protocol banning the use of chemical weapons in the French capital in January of the coming year with a view to giving additional impetus to the elaboration of a general ban on the production, storage, and use of this type of mass annihilation weapon. The strengthening of the "European pillar" of the Western alliance was also discussed. Unfortunately, no shift is so far discernible in the defensive concepts of Paris and Bonn, and both sides continue to advocate the so-called combination of the nuclear and the conventional components of the armed forces.

In this context their approach to the so-called modernization of short-range nuclear weapons cannot but attract attention. Aware of the sharply negative attitude of the absolute majority of the West German population to the NATO plan to this effect, the FRG Government has declared that this issue is not topical at the present time. The president of France mentioned a 2-year moratorium in this context, referring to U.S. missiles in NATO's arsenal. However, in accordance with existing plans, the French will have their own "Hades" missiles, which are in the same category, in 2 years' time.

This has put the public on its guard.

The current Franco-West German summit was the 52d. This fact alone indicates that great experience has already been accumulated in Franco-West German cooperation and various mechanisms have been created which are being supplemented with new "units." On this occasion too, the President brought 11 ministers along with him, in addition to the prime minister. They discussed various aspects of collaboration with their Bonn colleagues. These ranged from a program for the protection of historical and cultural monuments, taxation questions, and nuclear reactor safety to problems in the sphere of postal and telegraph communications. The positive aspects of this experience clearly deserve to be studied. Especially since it encompasses ever new spheres.

For instance, at the moment Paris and Bonn are discussing the establishment of joint embassies to be staffed by diplomats from both countries and alternating ambassadors. Naturally, it is not a question of a global merger of the Franco-West German diplomatic services, which would not be feasible anyway in view of the different interests and approaches of the two states to many questions of international, European, and regional policy. It is merely intended to try out this kind of collaboration in certain countries. However, from the viewpoint of saving manpower and resources it is a rather interesting idea which might furnish some food for thought for our fraternal socialist countries.

Franco-West German cooperation has grown into a significant factor of European politics. It is capable of contributing to the construction of the "common European home." This is precisely what Wolf Well [name as published], an observer of the newspaper GENERAL-ANZEIGER, has in mind. He writes in today's edition: "Paris and Bonn agree on the point that Europe does not end at the borders of the EEC. They also agree that the question of the further building of Europe's future needs to be reinterpreted. Confrontation must be transformed into partnership. Europe is once again at a crossroads and it needs wise and far-sighted guidance."

You cannot argue with that.

French Communist Academics Visit USSR

PM0811142988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for cooperation between the CPSU and the French Communist Party [PCF], a delegation of scientific workers from the PCF Central Committee Institute of Marxist Studies, headed by F. Lazard, member of the PCF Politburo and director of the institute, has visited the Soviet Union.

A debate took place at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences on such topical questions as "Socialism Today" and "Social Progress in the Modern World." In the course of the exchange of opinions, topical problems of contemporary international life, the world communist movement, and the participation of communist and progressive forces in the struggle to prevent the nuclear threat and for social justice and an integral world were comprehensively analyzed. A range of questions associated with increasing the role of scientists in further strengthening CPSU-PCF relations was discussed.

The guests also visited the USSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy Institute. The delegation of French Communists was received at the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department.

CPSU Greets Austrian Communists on Anniversary

PM0811145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings to Communist Party of Austria Central Committee on anniversary]

[Text] To the Communist Party of Austria [KPOe] Central Committee

Dear comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee sends the KPOe Central Committee warm fraternal greetings and cordial congratulations on the 70th anniversary of its foundation.

The history of the party of Austrian Communists is a chronicle of their selfless struggle for social justice and for their country's honor and independence. Your Soviet friends and kindred spirits remember and cherish the KPOe's unbending opposition to Austrian fascism and the Nazi invaders, and your party's weighty contribution to the rebirth of a democratic and independent Austrian state.

In the postwar decades the KPOe has consistently demonstrated its commitment to working people's interests. It is always in the front ranks of fighters for peace and security on the European Continent.

We are grateful to Austrian Communists for their solidarity with the CPSU in its efforts to carry out revolutionary restructuring in the USSR and for their active concern to strengthen friendship between the Austrian and Soviet peoples.

On behalf of Soviet Communists we send the KPOe Central Committee and all Austrian Communists very best wishes for successes in defending the social and political gains of the working class and all Austrian working people in the interests of peace, democracy, and social progress.

CPSU Central Committee

Political & Social

Shevardnadze Visit to Israel 'Not on the Agenda'

PM0811163688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 45, 6 Nov 88 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Firsthand Information: To Israel Or Not to Israel?"]

[Text] The Voice of Israel recently announced that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze would be visiting the Middle East this November. It was also reported, with reference to a Kuwaiti newspaper, that the list of countries to be visited by the Soviet Minister included Israel. Is this information reliable? The answer to this question from MN was given by Head of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Gennadiy Gerasimov.

"Middle East developments are closely watched by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. The Minister has been invited to visit a number of countries of that region and would like to accept the invitations. However, the terms for the proposed visits have not yet been agreed upon.

"As for the Minsiter's visit to Israel, this is not on the agenda."

'Error, Deceit' of Brezhnev Award Recalled

LD0811153988 [Editorial report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0900 GMT on 8 November, during the "Time, Events, and People" program, carries a 6-minute report presented by Igor Grigoryev in which he discusses with Kim Kukholev the anniversary of the institution of the Order of Victory and the Order of Glory awards.

Kukholev recalls the time when the orders were instituted, when there was no doubt as to the outcome of the war. The battles of Moscow, Stalingrad, the Kursk Bulge, and the Dnieper saw mass heroism by Soviet soldiers and a high degree of skill on the part of Soviet military leaders, he says, adding that in all these battles the Wehrmact had superior forces. Kukholev recalls the names of some of those who were awarded these orders during the war. The Order of Glory was awarded to soldiers and the Order of Victory to commanders. During the war 17 persons were awarded the Order of Victory.

At the end of the report, the following exchange takes place:

"[Grigoryev] That was during the war; let us emphasize that. But after the war, in peacetime, we learned the name of another possessor of the supreme military award. Brezhnev became one. If I am not mistaken that happened, I think, some time in February 1978?

"[Kukholev] Yes, 20 February 1978. And however paradoxical that may sound now, during the period of glasnost and restructuring, a person became the possessor of the supreme military award while no war was being waged, in violation of the Statute of the Order of Victory—remember, for mounting major operations on the scale of one or of several fronts, etc. Brezhnev was awarded this order and he accepted it as his due.

"[Grigoryev] In a way thus spitting on the souls of the frontline soldiers and insulting the memory of the real military leaders.

"[Kukholev] Of course. But what about Brezhnev? After all, he did not award it to himself. It was people from his retinue, and some of them are sure to be listening to us, perhaps even with a smirk, thinking to themselves: We gave away a spare order, but on the other hand there was something in it for us.

"[Grigoryev] That is perhaps the most terrible thing about it. The error or deceit, call it what you like, certainly needs to be corrected. The unworthy should not be in the list of those awarded the Order of Victory, in my opinion.

"[Kukholev] That is a fact, and that is why today it is with a special feeling of recognition and gratitude that we utter the name of the first holders of the supreme martial award in our country, the Order of Victory."

Further Speeches at Supreme Soviet Sessions

Petroleum Minister Dinkov

PM0811195388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

["Abbreviated account of speech by Deputy V.A. Dinkov of Kaakhkinskiy Electoral Okrug, Turkmen SSR," USSR minister of the petroleum industry, at 28 Oct 1988 morning session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies!

Since 1 January of the current year the petroleum industry has been working in conditions of complete economic accountability and self-financing. Collectives' efforts are focused on meeting the national economy's requirements for petroleum and gas and ensuring the rational use of labor, material, and financial resources.

Certain positive changes in the sector's development over the past 3 years have created the impression that all is well. Meanwhile the attention of both economic departments and allied ministries to problems of the fuel and energy complex has slackened.

This is attitude is wrong. People who consider the questions of the present and future development of the fuel and energy sector as resolved are profoundly mistaken.

The problems of the provision of fuel and energy resources have grown considerably more complex as a result of the accident at Chernobyl AES. The structure of electricity generation has changed. The rate of construction of nuclear power stations has slackened, while the exploitation of hydro-power resources is proceeding slowly.

We are paying little attention to nontraditional sources of energy. In connection with the fact that the aforementioned sources are extremely expensive and cannot substantially influence the solution of the fuel problem, pride of place in the new edition of the energy program is assigned to the petroleum and gas industry.

An analysis of the performance of the petroleum industry shows that as regards prospecting techniques and petroleum output our country is not lagging behind world standards. However, as regards materials, equipment, and apparatus, they are of a very low standard and their technological specifications are 5-10 times below world models. Much specialized equipment and materials are not produced at all. These problems have been scrutinized more than once, decisions have been adopted on them, and an especially detailed examination of them was made during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to West Siberian deposits.

Unfortunately, virtually nothing has been done to implement the programs for the retooling of the petroleum industry.

The lag in the production of new machinery in conditions where organizational measures have been virtually exhausted is beginning to act as a brake as regards the enhancement of the efficiency of the sector's development. The 5-year plan calculations were based on returns that were to be gained from retooling. The solution of these problems brooks no delay.

It must be noted that the sector's provision with series production equipment and with other material and technical resources is unsatisfactory. The machine-worker ratio is deteriorating.

Neither the standard of petroleum machine building nor its scale correspond to the rate of development of the petroleum and gas industry.

The state order on which great hopes were pinned, failed to win the necessary prestige. Enterprises which are given a state order cannot expect priority provision with resources. This is the position of petroleum industry enterprises whose entire output is covered by a state order which is not balanced with resources.

One of the weak links in our work is the wear and tear of the system for the collection and transportation of petroleum. The total length of pipelines is 299,000 km at present. Corrosive fluids are pumped through these pipelines which makes it necessary to protect them against corrosion and service them regularly. However, the right kind of pipes and chemical agents necessary for this purpose are not being allocated in the required quantities. These problems have been examined more than once, they were reported to the 27th CPSU Congress, but they have not been resolved. The number of pipe bursts on pipelines is increasing. In the first half of the current year there were as many as in the whole of 1986. Pipebursts alone account for the loss of 1 million tonnes of petroleum. Furthermore they have a detrimental effect on the environment. This is a very serious problem. It cannot be resolved without the allocation of the necessary resources.

Comrades! Every tonne of fuel is becoming harder to obtain and more expensive. In these conditions questions of the rational and economic use of fuel and energy resources are acquiring special significance. Provision must be made in the plan for substantial cuts in the specific consumption of fuel in goods production. Special attention should be paid to the thoroughness of petroleum processing and the preparation of petrochemical plants for handling heavy and sulfurous types of petroleum whose proportion, according to estimates, is going to increase.

I would like to dwell on one more problem in the sector's development. The situation in the provision of oil workers with housing and social amenities remains strained. Progress in moving people out of dilapidated housing is still slow, waiting lists for housing remain long. Allocations for this purpose by the sector's enterprises could be increased, but they are not backed up with material resources.

Enterprise collectives are trying to identify new opportunities for increasing petroleum production and enhancing the efficiency of petroleum production. It is necessary for the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Gossnab once again to examine the imbalance of the plan and to find ways of balancing it. It must be done without delay.

Caspian Oil Official Abasov

PM0311134588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

["Abbreviated account" of "Speech by Deputy K.A.K. Abasov of Ilichevskiy Electoral Okrug, Nakhichevan ASSR," general director of the "Kaspmorneftegaz" Production Association, at 28 October 1988 afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Comrade deputies! A deputy from the Armenian SSR spoke here just before me and raised again the question of Nagornyy Karabakh. I had no intention of touching on this question in my speech. Azerbaijan's working people and the broad strata of our republic's population welcomed with understanding and approval the principled and fair party and state decisions on the Nagornyy Karabakh question. It is well known that on several occasions it was the topic of comprehensive discussions at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers. There is a resolution by the party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers which envisages large-scale measures to accelerate the oblast's socioeconomic development. An important document was adopted by the country's supreme organ of state power which contains an unambigious answer dictated by the immutability of the constitutional position.

It would seem that everything is clear. Everything has already been said. It is necessary to get down to the job and work at it. After all, look at the opportunities offered to us all by restructuring!

Culture Minister Zakharov

PM0811144788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

["Speech by V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture," at 28 October 1988 afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] The proposed considerable increase in state allocations for the needs of culture provides for increased funding for art establishments and all cultural-educational activity, and additional capital investments in the construction of cultural projects and the restoration of historical and cultural monuments. The plan also outlines an increase in the wages of low-paid categorics of cultural workers. This has been long awaited in the sector, since the wages of our ordinary working people are half the average salary of representatives of other mass professions, or even less. We wholeheartedly support this measure. Our hopes for a reduction in the turnover of cultural-educational work cadres, which stands at 30 percent and more, are pinned directly on such changes.

At the same time, while receiving effective support from the party and the state, we are forced to point out that cultural establishments in many parts of the country are still in a disastrous situation, because they have in the person of the local leadership neither an interested and attentive friend nor a solicitous master. Therefore the policy of enhancing the role of the soviets and ensuring, as the draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution states in this regard, that they lead all sectors, including sociocultural building, is of fundamental importance to us.

For what happens in practice, comrades? For the first time culture received tremendous funds for the 5-year plan, but they are being realized really badly locally. Approximately R1 billion was not assimilated over 3 years, and during the first 9 months of this year the commissioning of rayon houses of culture and village clubs stood at just 26 percent. Things are particularly bad in rural localities—16 percent in the Georgian and Tajik SSR's, 17 percent in the Estonian SSR, and 18 percent in the RSFSR. In more than 30 rayons of the country, rayon houses of culture are constructed using the "prolonged construction" method—over 12 years and more. Of the 12 concert halls planned for handover in this 5-year plan, at best only 3 will be commissioned. And of the 14 theaters planned for commissioning this year, not one was commissioned during the first 9 months. Is this not an example of the "residue principle," which continues to operate with regard to culture? If people locally do not change their attitude to cultural construction projects, the 1989 plan will also be wrecked. And I would ask for deputies' assistance in this matter.

The trend which has appeared under the conditions of the new economic mechanism to save, once again, on the cultural budget and to cut its items in the name of the narrowly understood interests of the labor collective is particularly alarming.

In conjunction with the Gosplan the USSR Ministry of Culture has now drawn up for the first time a program which sets targets for the 20 leading industrial ministries and departments for the creation and manufacture of modern equipment for cultural establishments. The corresponding proposals have been submitted to the government. But even this timid undertaking is so far proceeding with difficulty, through numerous obstacles. For example, deliveries of personal computers to equip leisure centers are being held up, new kinds of park attractions have not been produced in the prescribed quantities, and production of game machines is being started up badly. All our attempts to incorporate amusement equipment in the state order have so far failed. In short, here too we have to fight the "residue" approach to culture.

In the leisure sphere and in the work of art establishments there really are sectors where self-recoupment can and must be introduced. However, we must not go to the other extreme of going along with calls to transfer practically the whole of Soviet culture to economic accountability [khozraschet]! We must not throw the baby out with the bath water here, as it were. And yet in some places targets are increasingly frequently being set locally for an increase in paid services regardless of the actual possibilities. Sometimes cultural establishments can see no way out and resort to wittingly absurd solutions. Having been made liable to pay this tribute, some libraries, for example, try to pay it even by exacting money from readers for issuing scarce books! Is this not absurd? And I could, unfortunately, cite many such examples.

The fact of the active introduction of the cooperative movement into cultural life and, in particular, into the organization of concerts also demands a principled attitude today. At the expense of the mass viewer and by means of greatly hiked ticket prices cooperatives lure artistes from our concert organizations to their functions with huge fees. As a result, the income from state establishments flows into the pockets of cooperative members, and the very organization of planned concert work is disrupted.

But it is of still greater concern that artistic standards are falling in this elemental flood, and the ideology of our art is being deformed. For you will not find the classics or folk music at cooperative members' concerts—popular hits reign there.

We are in favor of the participation of cooperative members in cultural life and, for example, we wholly advocate their possible contribution to developing the material and technical base of culture, where there is a big field of activity for them. The ministry also believes that the cooperative can tackle concert work, but under the state concert organization and on contract principles, on condition that the corresponding legal and financial normatives are drawn up.

Conducting a broad discussion of urgent problems with representatives of musical art, we recently drew up a draft new statute on concert work, which has now been submitted to the USSR Gosplan and Finance Ministry for the normalization, at last, of concert affairs in the country. We hope that the role of the local organs of power, the soviets of people's deputies, will increase significantly also in this important sector of the people's spiritual life.

RSFSR Council of Ministers Examines Progress

PM2810140188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In the RSFSR Council of Ministers"—please see Moscow Domestic Service in Russian report on the 24 October RSFSR Council of Ministers session published in the 27 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 70]

[Text] A session of the RSFSR Council of Ministers held 24 October examined the question of progress in the republic's socioeconomic development, and tasks concerning the completion of work planned for 1988.

Having analyzed the work of the RSFSR's national economy in the light of the 19th all-union party conference demands, the RSFSR Council of Ministers noted that, compared with 1987, there have been certain positive changes in industry, in the agro-industrial complex, and in the social sphere.

At the same time, the session held a sharply critical discussion on the existence of serious shortcomings in the republic's economy.

It was noted that, despite the higher growth rates achieved in produced national income and social labor productivity in comparison with the corresponding period of last year, the state of affairs in the RSFSR's national economy is improving only slowly. Many ministries and departments, autonomous republic councils of ministers, and local ispolkoms have still not managed to master economic methods of management and have failed to ensure that their subordinate enterprises and associations are properly prepared for work in the new conditions of economic management and deepening democratization. Insufficient attention is also paid to forms of production relations like cooperatives and lease contracts.

As regards the growth rate in the volume of industrial output, the republic has failed to reach the level envisaged by targets set for 1988 in the 5-year plan. Virtually one enterprise in every five failed to fulfill its contract commitments for output deliveries. Out of the 215 most important types of output covered by state orders, the January-September targets were not met for 85 products. The greatest lag was allowed to build up in industrial enterprises under the RSFSR Ministry of Light Industry and the RSFSR Gosagroprom, whose delivery shortfalls amounted to R255 million.

RSFSR ministries and departments are intolerably slow and lack a comprehensive approach in their work to improve the financial health of the sectors' economy, to seek out and mobilize additional reserves, and to eliminate lossmaking in production. There has been no radical breakthrough in work on saving resources. Nonproduction losses and expenditure remain considerable, and management costs are still unjustifiably high.

There have been no noticeable positive developments as regards improving the supply of foodstuffs to the population. Production of the basic types of livestock products is rising at inadequate pace. As before, the agro-industrial complex incurs considerable losses during the harvesting, transportation, storage, and processing of agricultural products. The activity of the RSFSR Gosagroprom, the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone Gosagroprom, the RSFSR Ministry of Grain Products, the RSFSR Potrebsoyuz, other ministries and departments, autonomous republic councils of ministers, and local ispolkoms fails to meet the demands of tasks concerning the fullest possible supply of basic foodstuffs to the population in the shortest possible time.

There was sharp criticism of work to meet the targets for constructing projects in the social sphere. Emphasis was placed on the totally intolerable situation, with the republic failing to fulfill its 9-month plan for the commissioning of housing, general education schools, preschool institutions, hospitals, clubs and houses of culture, vocational and technical education establishments, and residential homes for the elderly and for invalids.

The attention of RSFSR ministries and departments and local ispolkoms was drawn to the lack of proper initiative and persistence in saturating the market with goods and services, the poor standards of work to fulfill the retail trade turnover plan and to satisfy the population's effective demand, the continuing "erosion" of cheap goods from production, and the poor quality of many products. State orders for the total volume of retail trade turnover were underfulfilled by R83.5 million. The situation is especially unsatisfactory in consumer cooperative organizations. Opportunities for broader supply of paid services to the population are not fully utilized. Plans for the sale of these services are systematically unfulfilled in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR and in Kalinin, Vladimir, Kemerovo, Tomsk, Novgorod, Novosibirsk, and Amur Oblasts.

There is a lag in getting the RSFSR's municipal housing and fuel and energy services ready for operations in winter conditions. The RSFSR Council of Ministers instructed RSFSR ministries and departments, autonomous republic councils of ministers, and local ispolkoms to thoroughly analyze the results of economic and financial activity by their subordinate associations, enterprises, and organizations and to elaborate and implement a package of measures to mobilize existing reserves, to overcome the lag allowed to build up in a number of sectors, and to unconditionally meet the targets set for the last quarter and for 1988 as a whole.

The republic government demanded that RSFSR ministries and departments finalize as soon as possible the conclusion of next year's economic contracts between enterprises and associations, expand direct ties between consumers and producers of output, and ensure the national economy's steady performance from the very first days of the new year.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers made it incumbent upon the RSFSR Gosagroprom, the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone Gosagroprom, other RSFSR ministries and departments within the agro-industrial complex, autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, and oblispolkoms to channel the efforts of labor collectives on kolkhozes and sovkhozes and in enterprises and organizations toward making maximum use of the existing production potential, in order to boost the production of output so as to considerably improve food supplies for the republic's population in the immediate future.

The attention of RSFSR ministries and departments, autonomous republic councils of ministers, and local ispolkoms was drawn to the need to take immediate measures to raise the standards of economic work, improve the financial health of enterprises and organizations, and enhance responsibility for meeting budget obligations.

The session also examined the question of RSFSR soviet and economic organs' tasks in organizing livestock wintering and in boosting production and purchases of livestock products during the winter of 1988-1989.

The RSFSR was presented with the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee Certificate of Honor awarded to it for boosting production and purchases of livestock products during the winter of 1987-1988. The certificate of honor was presented by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Taking part in the RSFSR Council of Ministers session were senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee, the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, as well as leaders of a number of USSR ministries and departments and production front-rankers.

The session was chaired and addressed by A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Sakharov Writes on Democracy, Human Rights

LD0311172988 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—Academician Andrey Sakharov is of the opinion that matters of the state system, particularly the constitution and electoral system are of the decisive importance in conditions of perestroyka in Soviet society. An article by member of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences Sakharov published in the latest issue of the weekly NEW TIMES is about his concept of a legal state.

The scientist notes it is important that laws should not run counter to the constitution and should be fully in keeping with international norms, with the country's international obligations. The academician added that "international obligations should have a certain primacy so that reference could be made to them even when court judgement is made."

The author of the article is of the opinion that the motion of a law-governed state means first of all "the primacy of law. All the instances, all the government bodies, all persons, no matter what posts they hold, are equal to all citizens before the law."

Noting that articles under which people are condemned for their convictions, for non-violent actions connected with their convictions have been and still remain in the country's criminal code, Andrey Sakharov said the new criminal code should state clearly that "criminal persecution for convictions and non-violent actions stemming from them is impermissible."

In his article the academician touches upon a number of other legal matters, such as the freedom of the choice of the country of residence, freedom of assemblies, citizens' right to monitor state decisions.

Permission Sought To Publish Solzhenitsyn Book

PM0811163188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

[Report by unnamed "our correspondent": "'Soviet Writer' in 1990. At the USSR Writers Union Board Secretariat Session"]

[Excerpts] A routine session of the USSR Writers Union Board Secretariat, chaired by First Secretary V. Karpov, examined and approved the "Soviet Writer" publishing house's publication plans and editorial preparations for 1990.

The draft publication plan contains 536 titles. The total print run is 25 million. The plan contains 398 new titles (including reserve titles), 91 reprints, and 11 "Poet's Library" titles. [passage omitted]

There was serious discussion of the following item in the plan—the expeditious publication of "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich" by A. Solzhenitsyn. Opinion was divided—some speakers considered that the work, once printed in NOVYY MIR, must now be published separately; others said that A. Solzhenitsyn's views are incompatible with our system and our ideology and, consequently, the book should not be published. The decision was that the board should again be instructed to consider the matter and also that without fail the author himself should be asked to authorize publication. [passage omitted]

Moscow Soiree Honors Marshal D.F. Ustinov

PM0811131388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Oct 88 First Edition p 2

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA-TASS report under the rubric "Yesterday: Events and Facts": "In the Marshal's Honor"]

[Text] The career of Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov was a graphic example of service to the people, the party, and the socialist motherland. Red Army fighter, worker, engineer-designer, director of a large plant, people's commissar for armament, minister of defense—these were landmarks in the biography of Dmitriy Fedorovich, Leninist Communist, talented leader, and man of lofty duty and responsibility. This was stated at a 28 October Moscow soiree devoted to the 80th anniversary of the birth of Hero of the Soviet Union, twice Hero of Socialist Labor Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov.

The speeches by Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister, and others pointed out that in his various party, state, and military posts D.F. Ustinov displayed the abilities of an experienced and farsighted leader who did much to strengthen the country's defense capability.

Correspondent Reports on Sverdlovsk Aftermath

LD0511071088 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0100 GMT on 5 November carries a 2.5-minute recorded report by (Yan Khutoryanskiy) from Sverdlovsk on the work to clear up the effects of the major accident on 4 October at the Sverdlovsk railway shunting yard. He notes that comprehensive measures made it possible to localize the aftermath of the explosion and bring the Sverdlovsk railway juction back into operation. The damage caused amounts to over 30 million rubles. He recalls that three people died at the scene, and two later died while in the hospital. Another 150 people were hospitalized and more than 1,000 received medical assistance. There are still 85 people hospitalized, of whom 3 are in serious condition. Four have been sent to Moscow for special treatment. Meanwhile leading doctors have arrived here from Moscow and all the necessary medicines have been obtained.

A new micro-rayon is being built in place of the destroyed housing. Twelve and a half thousand apartments and damaged buildings have been inspected. People have been moved out of 33 apartment blocks in order for major repairs to be carried out. The schools are open again in this rayon. Mainline engineering communications are being constructed. Instructions have been given to modernize Sverdlovsk railway junction. Already about 2.5 million rubles have been donated to the fund for the explosion victims.

Jewish Cultural Society Founded in Moscow

LD2910164588 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—A Jewish cultural society was formed in Moscow. The founding assembly was held in Moscow's Sholom Theatre, at which it will operate, last evening.

"Among its sponsors are prominent cultural personalities, scientists, employees, and students", Aleksandr Levenbuk, art director of the theatre, said in a TASS interview. "The society will be open for all willing to take part in its work irrespective of the nationality. There are Russians and Ukrainians among our activists", he said.

"Back in the 30s there were cultural centers at the country's Jewish theatres. And how that the renewal process is under way in the country, all pre-conditions emerged to create a new society. By the way, such associations are already in operation in Vilnius, Kishinev and other cities of the country. We set as our goal to develop the Jewish culture, forge internationalism on the basis of the mutual exchange in cultural values with representatives of other peoples", Levenbuk went on.

A cultural center to be named after Solomon Mikhoels, an outstanding Soviet Artiste, is be set up at the Chamber Musical Theater, another Jewish company in Moscow. The center will feature materials reflecting his life and creativity, books, cine- and photo-documents devoted to the history, culture, and the art of the Jewish people.

Perestroyka (restructuring) and openness help tackle the issues that had piled up in the sphere of inter-ethnic relations. Cultural associations of representatives of those nationalities who live outside their republics and autonomous regions are being created in many large cities. Two hundred and twenty thousand Jews reside in Moscow. Two national theatres work in the city, and the monthly literary journal "SOVETISH GEIMLAND" is published in Yiddish.

Moscow Radio Offers Advertising Slots

LD0411062088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Summary] Attention, directors of enterprises: Mayak [Moscow radio second program] is opening a new advertising and information slot: Enterprise Seeks Partner. You have changed to financial autonomy and have started counting your money. You need a customer for marketing your output, to get rid of surplus equipment, or you need to buy materials. From Vladivostok to Brest, Mayak will announce this to your future business partners. If your offer is announced on the radio, it reaches an audience of millions throughout the country instantly. Send your advertisement by registered mail, the envelope marked: Mayak—Enterprise Seeks Partner; to the following address:

127-427 Moscow Radio Mayak.

The telephone number for information is: 217-90-29.

So, by means of a paid advertisement on Mayak and other radio channels, enterprise heads can establish commercial and scientific-technical contacts with partners in any sector. The same applies to the development or introduction of inventions and projects. If you wish, advertisement offers can be broadcast several times a day on six channels.

Aganbegyan Interview in Budapest on Restructuring

LD0711210888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1505 GMT 7 Nov 88

["Pioneer of Restructuring" Program; interview with Soviet Academician Abel Aganbegyan, honorary member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, by correspondent Andras Kerekes, in Budapest; time not given; Aganbegyan remarks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kerekes] It is the same with restructuring as with so many other things. Its necessity became apparent before it was given a name; and no less important, naturally, there were some who felt this necessity much earlier, if only at the moral command of their vocation. Academician Aganbegyan is one of the Soviet scholars who recognized in due time that a radical turnabout was necessary in the Soviet Union's economy, if the country wanted to satisfy the international requirements of the late 20th century, of the turn of the millenium. [passage omitted] The scholar, the person, is also an old friend of our country. He willingly undertook, therefore, to avow some things to Hungarian radio's microphone. [passage omitted]

First and foremost, I congratulate you, I began, and then I immediately interrogated him about what he was doing. [passage omitted]

[Aganbegyan] Properly speaking, I now deal with the same issues as earlier—with two main issues. One is the restructuring of our mechanism of economic management. The strategy is clear. It has been precisely worked out, and now the most crucial moment has arrived. After the talk, it finally is necessary to act.

This year, enterprises have already begun the changeover to work done in conditions of self-financing. In 1989, the price reform must begin, the restructuring of the material-technical base of industry must begin. There will be a change in the banking system. We will create commercial banks, that is, the fundamental economic moves of restructuring are all still ahead of us.

The other thing I deal with is the prospects of the economy's development. The period of the 13th 5-Year Plan is approaching. What is talked about now is fundamentally new. First and foremost, a new economic mechanism is necessary. This means the structure of the plan, itself, and the indicators, themselves. It must continue to contain the economic norms, the base upon which the activity of the enterprises is built.

The 13th 5-Year Plan must be socially sensitive. Large economic maneuvers are necessary, and in the meantime, we must explore the possibilities in the social sphere, we must considerably speed up technical progress. These are all complex issues. So neither am I, as head of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Department of Economics, bored, and nor are my colleagues. We are all clarifying these issues.

[Kerekes] In our country, you are considered to be one of those who called for restructuring at a time when very few people did so. I remember when I was a reporter in Moscow at the end of the seventies what excitement we felt as we awaited the arrival of EKO, your journal dealing with economic policy issues. In spite of difficulties in gaining access to it, and its small number of copies, it radiated to the entire Soviet Union the spirit of the Siberian workshop that you led at that time.

EKO in those years was the same, among those who were acquainted with it, as OGONEK or MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI now, which of course are much more widely known. EKO, however, was alone on the platform. What is your intellectual child doing now? What role does it play in glasnost? Is your connection still as strong as earlier—because in the meantime you have moved to the capital.

[Aganbegyan] I am no longer the editor in chief of EKO. Our more-than-20-year relationship in this form, which lasted since the founding of the paper, has broken off. A resolution has been adopted by the academy that no one can be an editor in chief, manager, or president beyond a determined time. The scientific council, and I, naturally, have subjected myself to this resolution.

Otherwise, when I came back to Moscow in 1985, after a stay in Siberia for 24 years—the paper remained in Akademgorodok—naturally it was not very efficient to run it from Moscow. The paper has a new editor in chief. Therefore, a new period has come about in its life.

In our country, the press is now going through its renaissance. Under glasnost people's interest in history, in the recent past, in earlier times, and in the present has grown a lot. Many people are interested in theoretical and practical issues of economics, as well. Therefore, it was necessary for the press to modernize, to change, in this sphere, as well.

EKO stands its ground; it is the most popular economic paper. It has a circulation of 160,000 copies. This, of course, is too few, but nevertheless, this way three times more copies reach the readers than the economic publication that followed it. Well, that is too few, in our opinion, far too few. EKO should have more copies published.

[Kerekes] Do I see things correctly, that with the creation of competition, EKO's predicament, properly speaking, has gotten easier?

[Aganbegyan] It is more difficult, more complex, for the editorial staff, but better for the readers. I believe that this is the situation. It is a good thing that we can speak about the various kinds of approaches, about a pluralism of opinions. We have excellent literary periodicals, and I am not thinking solely of NOVYY MIR. OGONEK, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI consistently carry their line. And nearly every issue of IZVESTIYA, as well, can be read with the same interest. And generally, many interesting economic articles are being published. This, to be sure, is serious competion for the paper. However, EKO differs from them in that, after all—how shall I put it—it approaches these issues in a professional manner, with professional depth.

Of course, it would do no harm if it were more readable; in the final analysis, we can not fall behind the other good newspapers in this, either. So it may be apparent that the spiritual community between me and EKO is invariably strong.

[Kerekes] If we are talking about such personal connections, Abel Gezevich, your name generates a lot of interest in our country. Gezevich, your patronimic, that is your middle, father's name moves one's fantasy, because Geza is an ancient Hungarian name. As far as I know this name does not exist in any other language in the world. So, your father, one would assume, was of Hungarian birth.

[Aganbegyan] Unfortunately, my mother died last year; not so long ago, in other words. Therefore, one can speak about this now much more openly. My mother worked in a (?Tbilisi) tobacco factory. She was a Komsomolist, an activist. She had a good mind. It is no wonder they sent her to a workers' faculty.

[Kerekes] In our country this is what was called a technical certificate course.

[Aganbegyan] So, all this happened in the twenties. And because she showed great interest and talent in foreign languages, she continued her studies in the Moscow college of foreign languages. Here she got to know a Hungarian, a certain (Geza Gold), who at the time, if I am right, worked as a journalist, editor, at the Hungarian party paper, together with Bela Kun and other members of the Hungarian communist emigres. By the nature of things, he disappeared from Moscow; later he reappeared. So, during one of these, how should I say, scheduled absences, my mother came together with an Armenian, who was my natural father. However, as she was registered as being married to Geza, naturally, I was given his name. And then, because of what happened, of course, they were divorced. However—and this may sound strange—all this did not affect their relationship. They continued to live together. I was still little, it is true, but I remember Geza well. He had a big influence on me. He often took me for excursions around Moscow. I even have a photograph where, for example, I am sitting on Bela Kun's knee. And we had close relations with the Hungarian emigres in general, and we maintained these in the years to come as well. My younger sister Marlena was already Geza's child; she was born in 1936. In other words, the family continued to live together, yes, right up to 1937.

Then came the terrible time of reprisals. Together with many other Hungarian communist leaders, Geza was also arrested. After the 20th congress my mother was officially notified that (Geza Gold) had been shot in 1938. They looked for his relatives but did not find them. I always considered him to be my father, throughout my life. All through my school years, right to the end, even in the 1st year of high school, I was said to be an enemy of the people. For a long time they did not even take me into the Komsomol, althought by the time we were 14 the whole class was already members of the organization. All kinds of complications pursued me because of this. Actually, everything which I have now said I found out when I started to work at the labor affairs committee, and during one of the document inspections they showed me the divorce papers. Yes, that is when I learned who my real father was, whom I never knew, and with whom I had no relations whatever. And naturally, my entire family, my mother and especially my younger sisters, were always very interested in Hungarian history. Miklos Kun speaks about this in one of his interviews.

At the time of the war, as happened with so many other children who lived in Moscow, one fine day, on 17 October to be precise, at night, mother wasn't even at home, I was suddenly taken away. They put me on a train and I went as far as Alma-Ata. We were together with the family of Antal Hidas. Actually, they maintained relations with us right to the end, which I needed all the more, since mother stayed in Moscow for a long time after that. Then for a few years more I was in a children's home. Well, that is, how shall I say, only my history.

Then my interest in Hungary was really awakened, as an economist, of course. I consider Hungarian economists to be the economists of all the socialist world, including the older guard as well, among them Istvan Friss, with whom I was good friends. As far as I know, not only I have this opinion. The other Soviet economists too, or the majority of them, are of this opinion. We learn a great deal from the Hungarians.

The reforms which started in Hungary in 1968 meant a new beginning and they made the job of several other socialist countries easier. At all events, I have honestly studied the experiences of the Hungarian reform with the interest of an economist.

[Kerekes] In other words, well, we return to our main topic. While I was listening to you I was also thinking—becuase I had to think of it—of the meaning of 1937. It is expressly our topic from the viewpoint of restructuring the transformation of Soviet society; because Stalinism is not only a time of terrible things, of the personality cult. Stalinism is also a model, a method of having the value of a model.

[Aganbegyan] Yes, the Stalinist era is a terrible, tragic era, and by no means is it completely clear to us even now. We do not really know it yet. We do not even know exactly how many victims of the collectivization there were, how many people died of starvation, for example, in 1933. Millions, that much is certain. We do not know exactly how many people were murdered, how many perished in the camps. And we have not yet assessed the moral damage, and the distortion of socialism, which this era brought with it. Glasnost does its own work; the curtain is opening wider and wider. And we have to find out everything, if for no other reason than to derive lessons. We must eradicate from ourselves, we must eradicate from our society every vestige of this era. In addition, we ourselves as well, and everyone around us, in some form or other, will this time. [sentence as heard] So, this is a serious task. We should complete it. We should once and for all finish with every vestige of Stalinism, even with its subsequent, secondary, particularities. There is only one way to do this: We have to renew our society; we have to restore the attractive, Leninist example, in such a way, of course, that in the meantime we should pay regard to the changed world, to the new circumstances, to technological progress, to the development of societies. We must proceed on Lenin's path, according to a strategic plan. And in fact this is restructuring, the renewal of society, the renewal of the economy. We do not want to see an economy of shortage when we look at our economy. We would like to see it effective, highly developed, socially sensitive, one that turns toward man, is democratic, meets the demands of scientific-technical progress. In other words, what we want is that the socialist system of economic management should prevail. We have to strive for the most, and not only from the quantitative viewpoint. We have to fulfill the socialist life-ideal. Real guarantees are needed, a life where there is no unemployment, no discrimination, no going without. It is for this that we have to strive, for life cannot depend merely on material things.

I am deeply convinced that we shall attain all these things in the course of restructuring, that we shall overcome the troubles; because our development has no other alternative. I very much like Gorbachev's words: We have nowhere to withdraw to.

[Kerekas] That is so. However, it is just as obvious that Stalinism, which we cannot consider as the organic continuation of the Leninist beginning—quite the contrary—nevertheless represents a structure. Soviet society lives on this basis today. Every kind of change comes up against difficulties.

[Aganbegyan] You are right. The changes are not at all merely economic changes. It is really a question of social changes. These represent the transformation of every sphere of society. We all see, for example, how the intellectual sphere has changed, what effect glasnost is having. Everyone can see how strong is the effect of the need for democratization. We have now committed ourselves to the reform of the political system. We have realized many things already, and we shall soon also be giving them legal sanction.

Unfortunately, at the same time, in the economy the state of the reform is not nearly as good as in other spheres. But these things are all connected; one cannot exist without the other. After all, it is precisely complexity which can guarantee success.

This is not our first attempt to bring the old to an end, to begin something new. After the death of Stalin there were Khrushchev's reforms. However, these were not complex reforms, they were not based on the development of democratism, and consequently the system of passing down instructions has always returned. There is no doubt that Khrushchev made efforts at reform. Then, there were, say, the Kosygin reforms, in 1965. We call them the Kosygin reforms, and not entirely without justification in my view. But in the end these remained local, isolated reforms, so much so that they became isolated even inside the economic sphere; they did not encompass the whole of the economy.

There is no need to mention that these reforms did not affect the party or the political system at all, just as they did not affect ideology. In my view, the failure resulted precisely from this, from the lack of complexity. By now we have learned from this: We have drawn the conclusions.

Restructuring is a complex system, on a democratic basis. And despite all the difficulties and hesitations, it is this that justifies the belief that we shall make progress, from month to month and from year to year, tenaciously.

[Kerekes] Yes, but is said that the most dangerous enemy of restructuring is time. What I have in mind is that time, and a lot of time is needed to achieve a turnabout, particularly in the economic sphere. People are impatient, however. They want immediate changes.

[Aganbegyan] Do they want miracles?

[Kerekes] Yes, you might say so, they want miracles.

[Aganbegyan] Indeed, it cannot be denied, time is working against us and not with us. We have lost a lot of time. During the 3 and ½ years of restructuring, naturally, a great deal has happened, a great deal has changed. First and foremost our thinking has changed. We have a clear program, a strategy, also as regards how to continue restructuring. We have brought in important laws, good decisions. From 1 January we begin to move over to production in line with the conditions. A great many things have happened from the social point of view as well, also in the sphere of investment. There are favorable results, positive results; progress can be demonstrated. However, all this is going very slowly, much more slowly than we thought at one time, and public opinion surveys and experience show that the majority of Soviet families do not as yet enjoy the fruits of restructuring. This involves considerable risks, even if one can experience daily the renewal of intellectual life, the advance of glasnost.

This, however, is not enough in itself. Our most important task at the present time is precisely to take a great stride forward in the next 2 or 3 years in the spheres of industry, social policy, the manufacture of consumer goods, and in commerce. We are obliged to take this mood seriously and it is our task to change this situation radically. We have to demonstrate to the people the realistic advantages of restructuring.

We have a program. We are planning a whole range of measures. We are, for example, preparing for the Central Committee session where decisions will have to be made on agricultural issues. This plenum will definitely have to provide a program. It will have to give a great impetus to the issue of food production in the whole country.

We have adopted a very important resolution regarding the manufacture of consumer goods. The credit of DM 3 billion which we raised from the FRG is connected with this. We wish to devote this in part to equipping productive units capable of manufacturing light industrial equipment. Next year, that is, in 1989, the manufacture of consumer goods will increase by 7 percent, twice as fast as other products. During the current 5-year plan we wish to devote R 24 billion more to this than we originally planned. We have also decided on accelerating the development of services. Let me add right away that the services which cost money are already developing twice as fast as in the previous 5-year plan. We would like them to treble.

It has to be admitted, the decisions in this area have already been made. However, as everyone knows, it is not very difficult to bring in decisions. Executing them is rather more difficult, and the most difficult task is to put our economy right from the financial point of view. Of course, we have ideas in this respect as well.

I think that apart from this it might also be interesting to note that in the next 5, 6, or 7 years we want to double our output of cars. For example, we have abandoned the construction of a large tractor factory; we are reconstructing it to make it suitable for the production of 900,000 fuel-efficent cars per year. We are also planning to expand the possibilities of people to have their own dwellings built and we shall, for example, treble the sale of construction materials to the population. It has to be said, though, that we continue to regard the construction of free state dwellings as our most important task in this area.

[Kerekes] This is not the first age of reform in our times either. We are familiar with the taste of failure. We know what the Nina Andreyevas are afraid of. But what are you afraid of? Are the fighters for restructuring justified in having fears; have they good reason to be afraid of something?

[Aganbegyan] I fear delay, hesitation above all. We are already capable of speaking very well. Nice phrases come easily to us; we urge radical measures and turnabout, revolutionary transformation, radical reform, coordinated restructuring. In other words, we also have excellent slogans. At the same time, we are rather timid, hesitant as regards the real things, for example, as regards switching over to the new system. We were certainly very timid as regards the introduction of new forms of direction. In practice we left open the possibility for the ministries to carry out their directing work in the same way, in accordance with the old directives. Only the name, state order, is new. We also provided the ministries with the possibility to devise carefully tailored regulators with whose help they can take the profits away from the good enterprises and can support, directly and indirectly, the poor enterprises. They cut off the road to those who could be the motor of economic advance, while continuing to maintain the comfortable feeling of being maintained among those who work badly, unsuccessfully.

In other words, while we have the correct ideas, a good strategy, we ourselves have remained indecisive; we have not made it possible for the new economic forms to replace the old ones. What is more, they have not even weakened the old system. It has been able to remain alive and in good health. By now, of course, we have recognized the mistakes. According to the decision of the Council of Ministers, for example, state orders, which this year applied to about 90 percent of all goods, will be only about 40 percent next year. This is progress.

We are afraid of facing up to the fact that it is not true that the old, stable norms are better than the new but changing ones. But where does this lead us? We have to find in ourselves the strength, we have to create the conditions for disseminating the new forms of management in a wide sphere, and the sooner the better. We cannot wait for the 13th 5-year plan. Time is working against us. We must act already in the 12th 5-year plan, in the current 5- year plan, and we must begin the next one with the new conditions of management. Delay is dangerous. In other words, the danger is not on the outside, the danger does not threaten us first and foremost from the opponents of restructuring, the danger resides in us, in that we are ready to compromise, ready to bring in half-measures, and that we are afraid of something and awaiting something. In the period of the economic turnabout we must not, we cannot behave in this way.

If we regard restructuring as a revolution, we must behave like revolutionaries. Delay is death itself.

[Kerekes] This is a familiar slogan.

[Abanbegyan] It was born in the French Revolution. Lenin repeated it during the October Revolution. It is my view that we must live in the age of restructuring in line with this idea.

On Satisfying Consumer Demand

LD0211163888 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] The noted Soviet economist Abel Aganbegyan gave an inaugural lecture at the Hungarian Acedemy of Sciences. He is an honorary member of the Academy. He spoke about the problems of the Soviet economy and the need for a developed socialist market. Professor Aganbegyan also gave an interview to our colleague, Sandor Orban.

[Begin recording] [Orban] According to several reformist economists, perestroyka is threatened by a deadly danger if there are no resounding results in the near future because in the past 3 years the standard of living in the Soviet Union has not increased. What is more, according to many, it has dropped.

[Aganbegyan in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation] In my view, a certain favorable movement has already been experienced; but improvement is very slow, and not deep rooted. It is a grave problem that the incomes of the population have increased at a faster rate than the corresponding availability of goods. This is why the difference between supply and demand has increased. Shelves are empty in the shops, the lines are longer. Although consumption has grown, the satisfaction of demand is not running smoothly

In the areas of providing housing and medical services, we have made certain progress but, because of goods shortages, the public reacts very sensitively to economic problems.

For this reason we are planning important changes in agriculture in the next 2-3 years. We will change purchasing prices and introduce land leasing more widely. We would like a variety of property relations to develop in the villages. A resolution has been adopted that next year the production of daily used consumer articles will be double that of production tools. The 3-billion Mark loan we took up in the recent past, for example, wil be used exclusively for the technical development of the foodstuff industry and light industry. Besides this, we have as an aim to improve services and will turn a part of the defense industry over to civilian production. [end recording]

Georgian Party Secretary Patiashvili Interviewed

PM2810160188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 26 Oct 88 pp 1-2

[Interview with D. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, by special correspondents V. Andriyanov and N. Kvizhinadze: "Listening and Not Delaying. Two Days in the Life of D. Patiashvili, First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"; date, place of interview not specified; first 13 paragraphs are correspondents' introduction]

[Text] Georgian SSR—Sunday was drawing to a close. Behind the windows of the small office where we were finally alone together was a busy airport. Our helicopter had just landed there. We had flown with Dzhumber Ilich from Shatila Village high in the mountains. The sights and sounds of the magnificent "Shatiloba" folk festival were still fresh in our memories. As were the songs and dances against a backdrop of age-old Khevsurian towers, the inspired verses and melodies performed around crackling camp fires, and the animated conversation lasting way into the night.

Our conversation throughout this Sunday, despite all the attractions of "Shatiloba," returned one way or another to last Saturday and the meeting between the first secretary and the students at Tbilisi State University. The meeting was unplanned.

"Certain comrades suggested waiting: Let a commission from Moscow come and sort things out, they said. No, it would have been wrong to wait. We needed some plain speaking. So we stayed behind. The student rally reminded us yet again that we sometimes fail to ascribe importance to those seemingly trivial matters that can cause exacerbation and whip up public opinion. And then processes that had matured in secret are revealed, and are not always easily controlled. That is why restructuring, democratization, and glasnost need quick thinking in certain situations. Quick and deep thinking. And actions..."

We saw this rally.

The young people around the university were whistling and hooting. Voices were raised. Arms were thrust aloft. Feelings were at fever pitch. Just what had happened? An agitated and excited young man, representing the cybernetics lecturers, readily answered:

"The military firing range near the David-Garedzhi Monastery Complex—the pride of ancient Georgian architecture—is in use again. We learned about this yesterday. The military have not kept their promise. We are demanding that the firing range be moved. We demand that the guns alongside David-Garedzhi finally fall silent."

The same evening Lieutenant General I. Rodionov, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, stated on republic television that combat firing exercises at the range will not be held until the matter is finally resolved. The situation was rapidly examined by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. D. Patiashvili received a group of students. And yet the tension did not abate. Clearly it was then that the decision became firmly established to meet with the students for a direct and open dialogue.

The republic has long had a tradition of meetings between its leaders and young students. In the last few months the Central Committee first secretary has twice visited universities, polytechnics, and physical fitness institutes. But this meeting, prompted by the emergency circumstances, was not like the previous meetings in either form or content. Admittedly, just like before, there was no prior registration for the debate and no prior regulations for it. Like before, there was a trenchant and lively discussion among equals. But it was now many times more strained and emotional, and questions were raised far more acutely, which, as it were, set the tone for the entire dialogue—no flowery phrases, no evasion, no intimations, and no feigned courtesy to the presidium.

Nobody was left indifferent by Dzhumber Ilich's speech. He reminded people about the crux of the matter in plain, ordinary language.

The decision to build the test range was adopted in 1948. On the maps of the time David-Garedzhi was marked as a ruin. It became possible to raise the problem so acutely and in public following the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum. The republic's leadership and public asked the USSR Defense Ministry to move the range. Last year the Transcaucasus Military District command banned firing toward the monasteries or the movement of heavy equipment in direct proximity to them... But these measures were halfhearted. At the request of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee the republic was visited by a group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies headed by Yu. Yelchenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. The conclusion was unambiguous: The firing range poses a threat to this monument of world culture. But meanwhile the artillery troops continued firing. It was this fact that enraged the young students.

"Before meeting with you," Patiashvili addressed the young men and women, "I spoke on the phone with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He asked me to pass on great greetings to the students and asked you to actively promote restructuring. Mikhail Sergeyevich advocated moving the range. Military experts arrived in the republic the other day to resolve the question in practice."

The packed auditorium greeted these words with applause. We would note in passing that the group of experts has already visited the republic and the commission—involving representatives of the public and young people—has come to a competent conclusion. And one other point. Georgia was visited by Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister, who familiarized himself with the details of the situation locally.

...The tea had gone cold on the table, a TV set flickered in the corner. Dzhumber Ilich was reliving the meeting and thinking aloud:

[Patiashvili] Restructuring is a difficult and sometimes agonizing process linked with overcoming our own inertia. We must constantly seek new approaches and original solutions, and work to the limit of our powers. Naturally, certain comrades sometimes want to stop for a while, take a breather, and operate according to the customary methods. Others are not averse to recalling strong-arm methods. Extremes in general are a problem for us. We must see life in all its diversity. We must realize that unity does not mean uniformity and drabness. We must understand that a diversity of opinions and models—including models of economic organization taking account of local features, conditions, and national traditions—are our asset and our wealth.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee is resolutely putting a stop to any attempts to operate by shouting others down—regardless of who is doing the shouting. But we respect everyone's right to persuade and argue. After all, opinions differ. Everyone can think, but does everyone deserve to discuss matters in public? And the freedom to express one's opinion also presupposes the need to be responsible for what one says; just as the freedom to criticize brings with it the freedom to dispute criticism.

People should have a sense of their responsibility. Democracy cannot exist without the greatest responsibility. Otherwise, it will not be possible to create a just society. I am talking about a sense of responsibility both among people and among labor collectives and republics. Because parasitism has become very firmly established. Very many people have appeared who merely raise issues. It is such a convenient pose to be opposed to something yet responsible for nothing.

[Correspondents] Dzhumber Ilich, you are an agronomist and a candidate of agricultural sciences. Then you changed your profession to Komsomol and party work. Does party work give you that satisfaction that people get from doing what they love best?

[Patiashvili] In a word—yes. It does. You particularly feel it when you're talking directly with people, such as over the past few days. As a person I am entirely devoted to party work, it has molded me and taught me to believe in people. Responsibility for assigned tasks and the ability to spot and support innovations and inspire people are coming to the fore today.

Guram Mgeladze, our agro-industrial complex chairman, addressed a Moscow conference in 1983. He said that the family contract was being introduced in the republic. The auditorium was confused about what kind of contract this was. Yet in the Svaneti Mountains, for instance, kolkhozes were only set up in 1948—previously it had not been possible. They were then switched to sovkhozes to let the state make good the losses. This was a parasitical stance. I admit that, as a Central Committee secretary and being in charge of this sector, I myself raised the question of turning the kolkhozes into sovkhozes. Then we analyzed what had happened and we saw that in the course of 20 years these farms had received around R25 million in subsidies. What was going on? Who was benefiting? People had guaranteed wages and were not responsible for anything. Maybe, we thought, it would be better to remove all this and say: Right, comrades, there's your plan—get cracking. Earn your keep. That's what we did. And it worked. Herds increased 100 percent and murrain fell to zero. What is left for directors to do? They are not allowed near the livestock because everyone is their own boss. And I am sure that the lease contract will have the same effect in industry. There are loss-making enterprises whose output nobody needs. The collectives are living off the state. But this happens nowhere else in the world. And since the principle of "to each according to their work" was to all intents and purposes not operating in our country, idlers often lived better than conscientious workers. Where is the social justice in that? It is social parasitism. I seem to have strayed from your question, but implementation is, in my opinion, the essence of party work. Being in the thick of things, as Lenin put it...

[Correspondents] One of us attended your meeting at the 27th CPSU Congress Press Center. You were asked then about the fate of the Georgian vineyards...

[Patiashvili] Following the decision to cut production and sales of wines and spirits the republic's wine industry found itself in a difficult position. After all, Georgia is traditionally a wine-making area. A psychological factor prevailed. For Georgian peasants the vine is the personification of the joy of living and the immortal testament of one's forefathers. There were comrades (fortunately few in number) who called for some of the vineyards to be cut down. Yet grapes do not just become wine, cognac, or even grape juice. Grapes can be turned into up to 50 products, including feed protein, feed meal, vinegar, and medicine. They are a culture, a tradition, a way of life... Not a single hectare of vineyard was touched in Georgia. Some wine enterprises were switched to the production of nonalcoholic drinks, and the output of syrups, compounds, and infusions was sharply increased. Grapes started to be used in the manufacture of national food products—churchkhelu, pelamushi, and dzhandzhukha. A new plant producing enotatin [name as published], phytin, grape oil, and protein compounds—all products of the vine—will soon be working at full capacity in Gurdzhaani..

[Correspondents] Dzhumber Ilich, who do you think of as your mentors in life—the people who helped you choose your way of life?

[Patiashvili] Unfortunately, they have passed away. But I am glad to have an opportunity to mention their names. They were Nestor Ivanovich Chkhenkeli, chief of Tbilisi University's Plant Growing Faculty; and Pavel Sergeyevich Gvaramadze, professor in the same faculty, who was the personification of honesty and propriety.

Their support and moral example were all the more important because I was left fatherless at the age of 16. My father used to travel from city to village on party work, was a director of a machine-tractor station, and held senior positions in the republic... Then he was killed while investigating corruption as part of a Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Commission. I can still remember that day, 23 May 1956. After the soccer match some guy came round to try to persuade my father to cover up the entire case of speculation and the resale of apples. My father refused point-blank...

I often think about him and my own sons. What will they grow up to be? What kind of society will they live in? Our society now has just one option—renewal and cleansing. And just the one chance provided by restructuring. There will not be another...

[Correspondents] The assertion of social justice is a sore point worrying and concerning many people. As has been noted at Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenums, the republic's mass media are receiving a constant stream of complaints about violations in housing distribution, and bribery and extortion in the services sphere, the education system, and health care. Many cases have been and are being revealed. However, the shameful phenomena themselves are not disappearing. What do you see as the basic reason for them?

[Patiashvili] Yes, there are indeed quite a lot of these cases. Since 1985 some 362 officials of the Central Committee nomenklatura have been dismissed for various serious shortcomings in their work, including abuse of office. Of these, 47 have been expelled from the party, and some former leaders have had criminal charges brought against them and have been convicted. But, however alarming these figures, it is better to reveal all the social sores than to watch imperturbably as they gnaw away at our society. Bribery and careerism are closely interwoven with toadying, servility, hypocrisy, and flattery. This pernicious linkage can only be broken by thorough restructuring in the sphere of cadres policy and in the economic sphere and by the assertion everywhere of the principles of truth and glasnost.

[Correspondents] But what gives rise to instances of protectionism, profiteering, and bribery? What nurtures these negative manifestations? How do we prevent them?

[Patiashvili] The members of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and Central Committee plenum participants have frequently considered these questions. I too have had occasion to talk about this subject. In my opinion, a definite pattern can be seen in the deviation from party norms, from the Leninist ethics of bolshevism, and there is a kind of "mechanism of decline."

It begins in a small way. Perhaps with elementary immodesty, arrogance, or high-handedness. Sometimes you are simply amazed at the change which can be wrought in a person. Only yesterday he seemed to be a modest, perhaps even bashful comrade, but he only had to climb the career ladder to change before your very eyes: He looks down on you, he talks in a scornful way, he extends his hand somewhere sideways when he greets you, and he fails to notice the ordinary visitor. [Patiashvili ends]

At the initiative of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, the parking lot for private automobiles near the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee was reequipped as a sports area for children since there was not a single such area in this densely built up rayon. On his instructions a park with unique plantations adjacent to the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and previously closed to public use was opened for a kindergarten. Orphans have been given four government dachas and a clinic under construction for nomenklatura officials has been presented to the city.

[Patiashvili] When it does not meet with rebuttal, money grubbing gathers momentum. Last year we invited the wives of our apparatus workers to the Central Committee. There was a keen and frank talk about what the family of a Communist should (or rather should not) be like. About how the atmosphere in the family, the moral and psychological climate, largely depend on the wives of senior officials. We said frankly that some of them behave unworthily and immodestly and that the cult of acquisitivesness rules in some families. Private-ownership tendencies and living beyond one's means break up the family and form consumerist views in the rising generation.

In the party and state there is one law for all and one discipline for all. Party cadres, as the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum stressed, must be an example of ideological staunchness, the unconditional observance of party and state discipline, loyalty to their word, honesty, decency, incorruptibility, modesty, and intolerance of any deviations from the norms of communist morality.

How to achieve this? Cadres begin to grow corrupt under the conditions of an authoritarian regime and lack of control. In an atmosphere of glasnost, democracy, and control by all the people, any deviations will be halted promptly.

[Correspondents] We know that members of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau have for several years now been holding seminars within the system of the working people's political and economic education. According to tradition the Central Committee first secretary takes classes with a team from the Tbilisi V.I. Lenin Electric Locomotive Plant. What does this give you?

[Patiashvili] It is not enough to say that this living communication with workers enriches us mutually. It enables us to understand each other better and strengthen mutual trust.

Glasnost in the true sense is not a monologue but a dialogue. The republic attaches great importance to the study of public opinion. A center for the study of public opinion operates under the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and there are similar councils attached the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and sociological services have been organized at enterprises. The mail is analyzed. Nonetheless nothing replaces live meetings among the workers... [Patiashvili ends]

We ourselves wished to visit the "Elektrovozostroitel" Association.

"We fully support the student youth in its desire to save David-Garedzha from destruction," turner Karlo Kerauli told us. "At the same time, we resolutely protest to those who are trying to lend an anti-Soviet, provocative nature to the young people's patriotic movement. Democracy does not mean chaos but order. Democracy is incompatible with national arrogance, while national pride is combined with love and respect for other nations.

"I am personally acquainted with Dzhumber Ilich," K. Kerauli continued. "He conducts lessons for us within the framework of party studies. We meet twice a month. Team leaders, workers—25 people in all. We have a frank and sincere discussion among people who are close. Dzhumber Ilich speaks of the difficulties being encountered by restructuring in the republic and says what must be done to overcome these difficulties. Perturbed by the student rally, my friend said to me: What has glasnost done?—neither faith in people nor fear is left. On what is the state to stand? I replied: There is no going back to fear, and people's faith has not dried up. On the contrary, purged of its outer showy shell and demagogic slogans, it is acquiring ever greater strength with every passing day. I recalled that conversation on listening with comrades to the broadcast from the university. I realized that restructuring will triumph."

Students also spoke to us of this. After the meeting many of them doubted that the broadcast, despite the first secretary's promise, would be transmitted in full, without cuts or abridgments. With all the sharp corners. It was. In full—approximately 4 and ½ hours. We watched it with D.I. Patiashvili. It even included the episode when a tile fell between the presidium and the first row—someone had been running over the roof. And the camera panned away from the rostrum to show the gaping quadrilateral in the ceiling.

[Patiashvili] Yesterday's meeting was a great lesson to me personally. I lived through so much during those 2 days. Special caution and the utmost tact are needed in everything concerning interethnic relations, in everything that can affect people's national feelings. Here all trifles are significant. And it seems to me that the party official does not have the right to disregard this. If trite, everyday squabbles are raised to the level of political generalizations and if social vices are generalized on a national basis, and by a not untalented pen moreover, then this in no way benefits restructuring.

It is unforgivable to flirt with the topic of interethnic relations. This in no way helps to strengthen friendship and fraternity. We frequently pronounce these words out loud, although, in point of fact, unfortunately, we have little knowledge of our own great country or of the culture and traditions of the fraternal republics. For it is our common guilt and pain when someone begins judging an entire nation through the prism of the market rows and ascribing a national nature to negative features of the personality. This is not only fundamentally wrong but also, as practice shows, fraught with serious complications in the sphere of interethnic relations. I believe that we must all act in a more principled manner and not justify our own faulty judgments with pseudohistorical articles. What, for example, is the intention of the authors of articles which pour salt on old wounds and irritate the relationships of forebears by interpreting cards dated years before our era? The republic's multinational nature only enriches our spiritual culture and lends it unique hues.

Of course, I am pleased that our intelligentsia, people whom the people know, support us. Merab Berdzenishvili spoke in the university—you saw how the audience received him. The kids felt the entire sincerity of his words. There have been occasions when poets, writers, and artists have spoken "for form's sake." But this was not even a speech. It was the stand openly taken by the republic's intelligentsia. They realized in their hearts that the party expresses what concerns the people. I will not say that all the speeches were to my liking. There were unpleasant ones too. Well, let people speak! Let us not be afraid that young people will not understand and not go with us. Our young people are mature enough. We have fine, talented replacements...! [Patiashvili ends]

After the university we made the long, breathtaking trip to the mountains of Khevsureti, which were sung of in the past by the brilliant Vazha Pshavela and which have become deserted nowadays, and engaged in heated arguments and reflection on how to revive them.

Eight years ago guests brought to Shatili an akvani—a cradle. Some people were surprised then: Why? Children's voices had not been heard there for so long. The cradle came in handy. It would already be possible to open a school. Next to the old fortress-village a new one has arisen with modern two-story cottages. A road has been built to Shatili, and electricity has been generated.

The first secretary decided to see how the "Shatili" tourist base in the Giorgitsminda Forest is receiving its first guests, and he had to personally check out how the new dining room looks. Are roads being constructed at an adequate pace to population centers and remote pastures?

He was stopped on mountain roads and in the streets. Staid, bronzed mountain dwellers talked of the helicopter—they want flights to be made regular, for there is no link at all in winter. It would be a good thing to continue the road more quickly to the village of Chokh and lay on gas to villages. It is necessary to tackle more vigorously the construction of bank-protection structures on the Aragvi River in the Gudamakarskoye Gorge—which will make it possible to open up scores of hectares of land. An elderly woman spoke of the future of her native district: "I cannot write like those who live in Tbilisi and who protect our originality from there." She asked for her opinion too to be taken into account in the protracted debate over the fate of the Caucasus Pass Railroad. The region cannot be developed without this railroad, she believes. And it is necessary to interpret and ponder all this and to adopt the decisions that are awaited by that woman, by her native land, and by the whole republic.

[Correspondents] Dzhumber Ilich, which phenomena and processes in the republic's economy and in social life please you, and which alarm you?

[Patiashvili] It would be premature to be pleased...

[Correspondents] But we have before us the data of the republic State Committee for Statistics. During the first 2 years of the 5-year plan the volume of industrial output increased 7.4 percent. Social labor productivity increased 5.7 percent. Real per capita incomes increased 6.7 percent. The volume of paid services to the population increased 21 percent. Also above the plan.

[Patiashvili] And yet, and yet. The economy is in a complex situation. It was reliant on the processing industry—45 percent of the total volume of industrial production; and on light industry—20 percent. And these are the worst-hit sectors...

[Correspondents] By negative phenomena?

[Patiashvili] Yes. Everything is mixed up here—embezzlement under high patronage, mismanagement, freeloading... If we do not rid ourselves of these excrescences we will not take a step forward. A very favorable moral atmosphere has now taken shape in the country. A time of cleansing. The time has come to combine politics and morality and to make politics, the economy, and society as a whole moral. This, in my opinion, is the meaning and purpose of restructuring.

Many people are accustomed to receiving, without giving anything back to society. But what complaints can be made, for example, by the "Isani" Factory workers if no one buys their footwear? For it is immoral to demand recompense for bad work. Here are the latest data of the republic State Committee for Statistics—of all the output submitted for state acceptance since the beginning of the year, output worth R360,000 was finally scrapped. But people are waiting for this output.

The atmosphere of openness and glasnost which has taken shape in the party and in our society since April 1985 has brought about a tumultuous explosion of critical thought, a sharp growth in social awareness, and a reassessment of many values. It seems to me that a certain gap has now formed between the understanding of the need for change and practical actions. This gap is being increased by certain resistance from the bureaucratic apparatus—a creation of the administrative-edict system. Economic accountability [khozraschet] cannot reveal its potential in full. Hence such alarming facts: During the first 8 months of this year almost 1 enterprise in every 6 failed to fulfill its contract pledges.

[Correspondents] How are labor resources being utilized in the republic? Not so long ago the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Commission pointed out that 55,000 people with higher and secondary specialized education in Georgia are not employed in social production.

[Patiashvili] More than 59,000 extra people have been drawn into social production over the past 2 years. The level of employment of labor resources has increased from 87.9 to 89.5 percent. And it will reach 92 percent by the end of the 5-year plan. As for the 55,000 specialists with higher and secondary education, about whom you are asking, more than 29,000 of them have already been drawn into social production.

[Correspondents] People came up to you in Shatili. We heard someone remind you of his request, someone else handed over a letter... What is the usual fate of such appeals?

[Patiashvili] In fact, the same as all other applications. Like letters sent directly to the Central Committee and applications at a reception session concerning personal questions, they are closely monitored. In this we endeavor not only to investigate a particular, specific conflict but also to see its roots, to understand the phenomenon, and to ascertain why someone has been forced to go to a reception session, to beg, to complain...

Have you noticed that reception sessions concerning personal questions are usually held behind closed doors? Such is the practice that has evolved. It can happen that people spend years making one and the same request, but department heads fob them off with promises. We have tried to show on television how citizens are received at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. And after the very first such broadcast we sensed the changed reaction of leaders of ministries, departments, and party and soviet organs to working people's just complaints and demands. On the other hand, many of those who spent years haunting the thresholds of various establishments, deluging them with petitions, lost the desire to engage in such things following the public investigation of their signals. [Patiashvili ends]

...The television relay from the university was into its 3d or 4th hour. An amazing thing: There was no trace of tiredness in the audience's eyes. A lively reaction, instantaneous response, empathy. The first secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee was peering into familiar and unfamiliar faces together with us:

[Patiashvili] For whom are we carrying out restructuring? For the future. For our young people. Young people, who do not bear the burden of inertia, will be able to emancipate society in full. But the process of educating young people in the spirit of Leninist traditions and ideals is not a mechanical process. It requires a tremendous exertion of strength and will, endurance and persistence, talent and love from us representatives of the older generation. [Patiashvili ends]

Listen, Merab Berdzenishvili is recalling an old and very interesting fable.

It was the fable of the eaglet who was impatient to soar into the sky to delight in free hovering and to see the land from horizon to horizon with his sharp eye. But all his attempts to fly up were unsuccessful. And then an older bird came to the eaglet's assistance. It used the strength of its wings to support the silly little creature in the air until the latter soared up over the snow-white mountain peaks.

[Patiashvili] So we too must be together: people of the older generation and young people. For we are united in our desire to preserve our sacred objects and our revolutionary ideals and to make our life freer and more beautiful.

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet To Convene 10 Nov

NC0911080888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 8 Nov 88

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The newspapers report that the 8th session of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet will convene in the meeting hall of the Supreme Soviet at 1000 local time on 10 November. The registration of the deputies began in the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's building at 1000 this morning and will continue until 1900. The registration of the deputies will continue from 1000 to 1900 tomorrow as well.

AZERINFORM Briefing for Journalists Reported

PM0911111588 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 26 Oct 88 p 4

[AZERINFORM report: "Briefing at AZERINFORM"]

[Text] "Starting early next year," Ragim Guseynov, the republic's deputy health minister, said at a briefing at AZERINFORM, "17 additional outpatients units and 5 midwifery centers will be opened in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] villages. Moreover, medical equipment, instruments, and medicines worth more than R1 million have been allocated to the villages of NKAO and adjacent rayons from the republic's Ministry of Health centralized fund."

This announcement was heard with interest at a briefing held 25 October at AZERINFORM. Own correspondents from central publications and representatives of the republic's mass media took part in it.

A number of villages in the region, R. Guseynov went on to say, have found themselves in a difficult position. Some of them were left without medical aid and eight were totally lacking a medical service. Around-the-clock medical and pharmaceutical centers have been organized there through the efforts of medical personnel from regions adjoining the NKAO. A team of doctors carrying out medical examinations and offering the population skilled help has been sent to the village of Khodzhaly. A mobile clinic and diagnostic laboratory and a dental surgery are operating there.

AZERINFORM special correspondent V. Korsh, who recently returned from the NKAO, told of cases where the inhabitants of Stepanakert and the settlement of Khodzhaly had been prevented from going to their work places. This policy is carried out by definite circles within the NKAO and is of a provocative character. It is aimed at kindling interethnic dissension in the republic and destabilizing the situation in Baku and the republic's other cities, which would without any doubt serve the purpose of the enemies of restructuring alone.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, A.K. Sharifov, director of AZERINFORM announced, has examined the question of normalizing the situation in the NKAO and the progress of work to restore homes that have been destroyed and burned, to reinstate people who were dismissed illegally from their jobs, and to guarantee citizens' safety. Concrete measures have been determined. In accordance with the decision adopted, G.N. Sendov, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, and T.Kh. Orudzhev, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, together with the leaders of a number of ministries and departments, are in the region and are resolving promptly all questions arising.

Speaking at the briefing, Anar, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Writers Union Board, talked about the preparations to celebrate the 175th anniversary of the birth of Mirza Fatali Akhundov, the founder of Azerbaijan's realistic and democratic literature. Jubilee celebrations will take place in Baku, Sheki, Moscow, and Tbilisi.

Representatives of our country's literary public and also of Britain, Italy, the United States, France, Lebanon, Turkey, and Iraq will take part in them. The celebrations will begin at the end of October. In honor of the jubilee, performances of the outstanding playwright's works will be staged and movies devoted to his life and creative work will be shown in movie theaters. Moscow will celebrate the 175th anniversary of M.F. Akhundov's birth.

An international symposium and a scientific session that will examine the problems of the legacy of that outstanding representative of 19th century materialist philosophy and sociopolitical thought M.F. Akhundov, said Yashar Karayev, director of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Nizami Institute of Literature, are also devoted to this important date. In honor of the jubilee, publishing houses in Moscow and the republic have prepared for publication M.S. Akhundov's works and works on his artistic legacy.

Journalists' questions were answered at the briefing.

Estonian Popular Front Leaders Interviewed

PM0811122288 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 2 Nov 88 p 4

[Ingmar Lindmarker dispatch: "Estonia's Popular Front: We Are Moving Toward A Crisis"]

[Text] Tallinn—With the express support of the Estonian Communist Party the Estonian Popular Front yesterday continued on its collision course with Moscow. The next few weeks will show who takes avoiding action first—or whether a collision will be inevitable.

"The situation is serious and dangerous," said Marju Lauristin, one of the seven members of the Popular Front's supreme council [hoegsta raad] which met yesterday in Tallinn. "We are moving toward a constitutional crisis," she added.

"The situation is difficult and we have to proceed with the greatest seriousness," Indrek Toome of the Central Committee said in an interview with SVENSKA DAGBLADET. He is generally regarded as Estonia's chief ideologist and is tipped to become Estonia's next head of government.

Despite the Popular Front's provocative words about Moscow's plans for a constitutional change which would strengthen central power, Toome gave his full backing to the front's demands.

"A split between the party and the Popular Front is out of the question," he said. "We are determined to go forward hand in hand."

The Front's supreme leadership met in its Uus Street headquarters in Tallinn's Old Town as heavy snow fell on the medieval town walls, muffling the noise of traffic.

The Popular Front and the party are now agreed that an extraordinary meeting of the Estonian Supreme Soviet should be called around 20 November. The Supreme Soviet will meet 9 days later in Moscow probably to ratify the constitutional change and the laws which the Estonians reject.

"We intend to draft an alternative proposal," Marju Lauristin said. "We demand that the Soviet Union develop into a union of sovereign republics held together by bilateral agreements between the central government and the constituent republics."

What if Moscow says "no?"

"The current constitution gives us the right of self-determination. I assume that if Moscow does not understand the seriousness of the situation, that issue will also come up for discussion."

Is there any question of leaving the Soviet Union?

"Perhaps not," Laursitin replied, "but it must be made clear what limitations our republic intends to accept to remain part of this system."

At Central Committee headquarters in the modern part of Tallinn—called the "White House" by residents of Tailinn—Indrek Toome's remarks were couched in words that would have caused amazement less than a year ago but that have suddenly become the norm.

He criticized the proposed constitutional change for clearly conflicting with the plans adopted at the party conference in Moscow in June.

"We must rehabilitate Lenin's idea from the twenties of having a union of sovereign states, united by a treaty which ensures real equality," he said.

Asked by SVENSKA DAGBLADET how he views Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev's brusque dismissal last week of the Baltic republics' "unrealistic" demands for, among other things, their own currencies, Toome spoke out just as fearlessly.

"Those were Yakovlev's own views," he said, "but what is needed is an informed discussion of a separate currency for Estonia, for example. The most important thing is for objective economic laws not to be subordinated to subjective views."

Indrek Toome described the situation in the whole of the Soviet Union—against the background of the "non-functioning restructuring"—as extremely critical and unstable. He did not contradict a reference to the concern in the West about developments such as those in Czechoslovakia in 1968, when Soviet troops finally crushed the so-called Prague Spring.

Marju Lauristin, a university professor in Tartu, appealed to the Swedish public to give their support to Estonians in the struggle which now seems to be on the horizon.

"We expect our Nordic neighbors to understand the situation which has arisen," she said. "It is a test of democratization in the Soviet Union.

"If Sweden supports our call for constitutional guarantees and if Moscow realizes that Sweden does so, it would be very important."

Estonian 'Intermovement' Criticizes Popular Front

WA18000004 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 11 Aug 88 p 2

[L. Marnin interview with Yevgeniy Vladimirovich Kogan: "Lessons in the School of Time"—place and time not specified; first two paragraphs in italics are editorial introduction]

[Text] *We are all now thinking a great deal about the success of restructuring or about what it has been unable to offer society. And this is natural because renewal processes transform all spheres of life in a fundamental way. We are thinking about the goals toward which we are striving, and it is from these goals we set our own course. But do we always remember that restructuring is a process during the course of which it is not only life that is being transformed, but in which we ourselves are also being changed? And the democracy of which we have already become witnesses and participants is also changing—expanding and deepening.... In this process some of us joyfully emphasize the social metamorphoses that have been mapped out while others, bewildered, spread their hands, saying that little enough has been accomplished in these 3 years; yet others are distressed: "They have let the genie out of the bottle—there is no going back"—as if we were not being covered as high as the head by the great wave of democratization.... Is it not from this that the white heat of emotion comes, which has evoked here in the republic an unprecedented upsurge of activeness in the masses? The Popular Front, the International Movement, the "Greens," the "independent" youth movements—all are provoking debate, everyone is an ardent supporter or fierce opponent. Particularly stormy debates are being caused by "Intermovement," even though it is not yet a month old.*

The new grouping has been very active: in this short time it has managed to organize two large meetings, hold three discussion meetings, take part in a conference of councils of workers collectives.... But although some of those participating in Intermovement have also been extremely explicit in their assertions, many questions are still being asked. Letters to the editor include comments from readers who see in Intermovement something that expresses their own interests, a defender of rights and freedoms. But our mail also includes letters whose authors speak angrily about Intermovement, seeing it as a factor that can split the republic's population. A third group of readers is convinced that socialist pluralism of opinion can be realized only in broad and open discussion "among equals." Showing this range of perceptions, today we publish an excerpt from the letter "The Position of the Popular Front Initiative Center on the Question of Self-Determination" and the rejoinder from readers, and also an interview with one of the sponsors of Intermovement, laboratory chief at the Estrybprom Production Association, Yevgeniy Vladimirovich Kogan.

[Question] What led to the creation of your movement?

[Answer] Not the press, even though many people say that the mass media inflamed passions in relations between nations and that this led to the formation of Intermovement. No, the press simply reflected certain processes in the life of our republic and showed that the national question here has not been resolved once and for all and that nationalist attitudes have not been eradicated in part of the population. Thus, we learned from material from the joint plenum of the creative unions about the dissatisfaction of some indigenous inhabitants with Russian-speaking compatriots and with their way of life in Estonia. We also learned of the intentions of the creative intelligentsia of indigenous nationality with regard to the so-called "migrants." These intentions could not fail to evoke our serious concern. For the "migrant" was depicted as uncultured and stupid—dull at best. It is true that sometimes diplomatic reservations were voiced to the effect that, of course, not all migrants are like that; but these reservations were a very transparent camouflage. He is just a foreigner, an uninvited guest, not a patriot of this part of the world.... The contrast was being made: he is a patriot of the USSR, not of Soviet Estonia, a stranger who exploits the spiritual culture and material blessings of the land of Estonia....

[Question] Do not these kinds of charges make a mockery of the words of the simple song: "My address is not a house or a street, my address is the Soviet Union"? Even though the sense of being a citizen of the Soviet Union does not entirely imply denial of one's love for one own place. However, this kind of discussion is for some reason never taken into account. So perhaps we can recall another song: "Where does the motherland begin? From the birch tree in the neighboring yard"....

[Answer] In the absence of patriotism this kind of charge will also be wrong, and not fully thought through. Can a person who loves his own village be reproached on this basis for the fact that he loves his own paternal home? In my opinion this is an absurdity. But it is a dangerous absurdity. And our alarm grew even more when the Popular Front announced that it was basing its actions precisely on the decisions of the joint plenum of the creative unions rather than on the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress. Then the question was raised of the official state language, and citizenship, and a national anthem for the republic.... Then, from the pages of the press and journals, on the radio and from the television screens they started to talk at the tops of their voices about some alleged plan for the emigration of Estonians in the USSR and their assimilation and russification.... Although I note that all one needs to do is look at the handbook "Alpha and Omega" put out by the Valgus publishing house to trace how the Estonian people, somewhat more slowly than might have been desired but nevertheless steadily, are increasing their numerical strength in the USSR: from 998,000 in 1959 to 1.007 million in 1970 to 1.020 million in 1979. That is by the way. It was proposed at the joint plenum that privileges be introduced for the young Estonian family while migrants were left completely out of the reckoning. The obvious intention was discrimination—once again along national lines.

[Question] In what context would introduction of Estonian as the official language be considered by migrants as discrimination against themselves?

[Answer] Many do perceive it in precisely this way. Here we might recall that Lenin called the introduction of an official language a "police regime": to propagandize a language is one thing, but to introduce it as a forced measure is something quite different. I note in passing that Vladimir Ilich was at that time talking about Russian as a state language vis-a-vis the national minorities in Russia, but under the conditions of the present situation in the Estonian SSR should not the Russian-speaking population be considered a minority? And it is precisely against this minority that it is planned to pass a law on the official language. Hence the threat of discrimination remains.

Notwithstanding, I would like particularly to emphasize that very many problems and concerns of the indigenous population are kept in mind, are not far away. In the International Movement they are well aware that there are grounds for these problems and concerns, and that memories are long about the terrible and unlawful repressions during the period of Stalinism, when thousands of innocent people became victims. And the Brezhnev period of stagnation exerted a most adverse effect on both the economy and the culture of Soviet Estonia. Nevertheless, we cannot advance while looking backward. Even less can we redress the balance by setting new mistakes against the old crimes and mistakes. And it seems to us that any hasty adoption of a law on the language without considering the interests of all the people making up the people of Soviet Estonia would be exactly that kind of mistake.

[Question] As far as I know no draft for such a law exists; there are only individual, specific proposals. And today it can in no way be asserted that the most rigid proposal—"Estonian is the official language for everyone"—will win through. Neither can it be imagined that in an atmosphere of glasnost and democratization the adoption of this kind of legislative act, affecting the interests of broad strata of the population, would not be preceded by very extensive debate.... So perhaps you are sounding the alarm needlessly?

[Answer] You know the old saying: "Better to have doubts than regrets." What I think is that it is better to prevent a mistake in good time rather than have regrets about it later. And there is something to be alarmed about: in the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium working group that is discussing the new status of the Estonian language, out of 34 people only 4 represent the "migrants." I say nothing of the status of Estonian citizenship....

[Question] And this is the same—a proposed status.

[Answer] Up to now it is known only that it is planned to make this directly dependent on fluency in the Estonian language and the qualification of residency. And of course it is understood that affiliation with local citizenship will significantly influence the acquisition (or failure to acquire) material and spiritual blessings. This means that again inequality along national lines is being proposed.

[Question] Nevertheless, you will agree that you are proceeding from proposals that are not without merit, but they are just proposals. A proposal is a shaky thing: perhaps it will be, perhaps not. And so in order to avoid reproaches and lack of solidity I think that it is essential to publish as soon as possible if not draft legislation on the official language and citizenship (which have not been drawn up), then the proposals of working groups (it is planned to change their composition), and initiate debate.... Up to now, however, you have been talking about factors and positions in the resolution of the joint plenum that are rejected by Intermovement. Did you also find anything constructive there?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, because at that plenum a great deal was said about regional cost accounting, environmental protection and the need to deal with the "egoism" of the central departments.... Another issue in which the boundary between the interests of the all-union departments and republic interests is a fine one is whether funds should be taken from the all-union coffers and allocated in small amounts or without compensation. For example, each year the Estonian SSR receives several million tons of oil: should it or should it not pay for this?

[Question] It should pay, but payment should not be exorbitant; any price should be scientifically substantiated rather than set arbitrarily, should it not?

[Answer] I agree. I understand that even if a survey has been done it is possible to work minerals only when an ecologically sound technology has been developed. Nevertheless, I personally would be careful lest in principle mineral working could be banned in particular regions or be removed to somewhere further away. For people live there too.... And these kinds of proposals are being put forward. Thus, the poet Yan Kaplinskiy proposes not only that some "migrants" be resettled out of the republic but that certain enterprises also be removed, along with their personnel. It seems to me that this is incorrect, the more so since no country that lays claim to being a developed country can get by without major industry. The correctness of the technology and a high level of labor productivity—this is what we regard as the most constructive way.

[Question] Have you expressed this viewpoint of yours?

[Answer] Yes, at our meetings and in letters to the appropriate authorities. We have also turned to the mass media but up to now we have had great difficulty in getting our material published.

[Question] And so all of this has become the backdrop against which Interdvizheniye came into being?

[Answer] Precisely so. And the main motivating reason that led the initiative group to decide to try to set up the International Movement was the fact that the republic party leadership and the Tallinn Gorkom made no statement on their own position regarding the extreme ideas and specific proposals about which I have been talking. At the meeting that we held on 19 July many people directly criticized the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee because it had lost the initiative and lost control over the situation. We included many party members and, speaking candidly, in the preceding years we had become accustomed to relying on our own party activists and leaders, and we expected and believed that they would finally set limits on the extreme statements, decisively dissociate themselves from them, and condemn nationalist trends as a matter of principle. It is quite simple: stand up for our national dignity for we are also part of the people of Soviet Estonia. But this was not done and Intermovement came into being.

[Question] As a counterbalance to the Popular Front?

[Answer] No, as a counterbalance to the nationalist and localistic perceptions of those who regard themselves as "fighters for the independent development of Estonia," and in so doing have no shame about depriving nonindigenous inhabitants of their rights. Some people saw in the creation of our movement some elementary fear of being social pariahs, second-class people; the author of one commentary even called us "the league of the paranoids".... But if this author were more objective he would probably call us "the league of wounded dignity." However, he himself recognizes that our alarm and resentment is "one-fourth justified" (the rest, he says, is what members of Intermovement have invented for themselves and then joined together). And indeed, you said that your readers are sending letters to the editor filled with alarm about their fates. So we propose that amendments be introduced into the Constitution of the Estonian SSR in line with which the republic Supreme Soviet would have two chambers—a chamber of the soviets and a chamber of nationalities—so that the dignity of all inhabitants would be respected. We are also proposing to set up a standing commission in internation relations. Incidentally, at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum they were already talking about the creation as required of these kinds of standing commissions under the soviets at all levels....

[Question] However, you are hardly likely, are you, to speak out against the rights and aspirations of any nation for self-development? Or for self-preservation? In my opinion, these are normal processes and it is quite natural that under conditions of democratization each nation has the opportunity to announce itself loudly and plan out its own course and follow that course. For without this one cannot talk of democracy....

[Answer] I agree with you. But I cannot agree with "self-expression" such as "The No 1 Column from Vyru," the desecration of Russian graveyards, and attempts to create from nothing some memory about the White Guards who died in combat against Red Army units.... This kind of "self-preservation" is capable only of compromising democratization....

[Question] Vandalism in cemeteries also evokes nothing but anger in me also. Although I do understand that here someone is trying to make a protest against the threat of assimilation, against the danger of a numerically small people being diluted by a numerically large people. I also understand that vandals must not cast a shadow over an entire nation. Nevertheless.... Now, perhaps, it is especially important to be united, but you are creating yet another public movement—while we already have the Popular Front. Will this not lead to a split among the population—and once again along national lines?

[Answer] Perhaps a split has already occurred, to judge from the sharp delineations that are being drawn (and for which some people will tolerate no end) between the indigenous inhabitants and the "migrants." Here, the leaders of the Popular Front have recently been agitating actively for "migrants" to join the Popular Front. But the main part of the Russian-speaking population has not done this, has not joined. It must be that they have sensed a real threat against their interests.

[Question] And how does Intermovement regard the Popular Front?

[Answer] We are not against the Popular Front as such but we cannot accept some of the ideas forming the basis of its ideology. Although this must be said with a large degree of caution: up to now only the Popular Front platform in Tartu, its position on the issue of self-determination and statements made in the press and at meetings of some of the leaders are known.... Nevertheless, we are for the Popular Front and we have agreed to act with it wherever that is useful for our homeland and for Soviet Estonia, including what is useful for democracy and leads to a normalization of the economy and to the burgeoning of all cultures.... If glasnost and pluralism among some comrades does not end with their own opinions, then I think that it would be much easier for everyone to find mutual understanding. At the same time I would like to emphasize that if the Popular Front does not limit itself to the formulation of its own platform (along the lines of the Tartu platform) but also starts to act, then it is my opinion that very few of the Russian-speaking population will opt for it. And indeed how can "migrants" join the Popular Front if Mariya Lauristin, one of the most eminent figures in that movement, states that the Popular Front advocates the introduction of the Estonian language alone and the qualification of residence? The contradictory nature of her recent statement in MOLODEZH ESTONII is obvious: on the one hand making advances to the Russian-speaking intelligentsia to persuade them to join the Popular Front more quickly, and on the other saying that they will just the same grade them according to citizenship....

[Question] But what kind of contacts have you established with the Popular Front? If the International Movement is ready to cooperate with the Popular Front then obviously it is essential to start with clarification not of the conflicts but with the similarities. I personally still see no special insistence being made by either of the parties....

[Answer] Up to now contacts have been on, so to speak, a partial, personal basis. The first attempt to meet on a completely official footing have not yet succeeded, although we did reach a point where a meeting was set up but did not take place. Perhaps a "tainted telephone" did the damage. But the next day in the party gorkom, member of the initiative group for the Popular Front, Khasso Nurm, did state the following: "But how can be talk with them? They are conservatives and Stalinists!" And so democracy is replaced with the pinning on of labels. We note in general that wherever our opponents lack arguments they immediately turn to labeling. A strange method of polemic!

[Question] Perhaps Intermovement also sometimes suffers from this; let us be fair. Nevertheless I am convinced that it is essential to seek mutual understanding.

[Answer] We are also aware of this and we do have things to talk about and discuss together. For example, the question of loyalty as understood by Tiyt Kyabin in his article on citizenship. Or the question of education for those wishing to learn Russian in the republic VUZes. For in recent years there has been a steady contraction of opportunities for this. This means that the numerical strength of the Russian-speaking intelligentsia is declining.... While most of the working class in the republic is made up of people of nonindigenous nationalities....

[Question] If I understand it correctly, the center of gravity in all the differences between Intermovement and the Popular Front lies in the field of national relations. But important as the national question is, it does not exhaust the whole of restructuring, does it? This means that today, now, given all the differences and disagreements, there are common points for the application of effort and a broad field for joint activity. If there were a sincere desire on both sides....

[Answer] The desire is there, you can be sure, and we have nothing against joining with the Popular Front. If—and this is fundamental—the differences on the national question can be resolved, it is still probably too early to talk about the form that this formation might take. The main thing is to listen to each other, and we are already convinced that this is quite complicated. But at least, to accuse Intermovement of causing a split, I repeat, is unfair from this standpoint.

[Question] Of course, the fact that supporters of Intermovement have agreed to listen and to hear out their opponents can only be welcomed. Although it is understandable that this still does not mean full acceptance.... The newspaper SIRP YA VASAR recently published the "Position of the Initiative Center of the Popular Front on the Question of Self-Determination." It states here in particular that political values such as national sovereignty and independent statehood "have for the first time in Estonia's history been realized in a tangible way in the Estonian Republic. During 20 years of independence the Estonian people proved their ability to handle their own affairs effectively. And today the traditions of democracy and labor standards of that period are still making themselves felt in the support that the Estonian people are giving to the policy of restructuring." How do you respond to this statement?

[Answer] We have not yet discussed the Popular Front's new position and therefore I can share only my own personal impressions. In my opinion this position suffers from political re-examinations and is not entirely free of speculative factors. For example, I do not think that the traditions of "labor standards" for which the Estonian people are famous were laid precisely during the period of the bourgeois dictatorship. Why was it that in preceding periods the Estonians had a reputation for being lazy people or totally incompetent in managing their own affairs? To assert this means to assert an historical untruth and insult the past of one's own people. The "traditions of democracy" of that period also evoke serious doubts because it is a question precisely of the period of bourgeois dictatorship, while in a dictatorship of democracy it would not sit so well. "Effective management of their own affairs"? But did not England and Germany impose their will, and impose it in a very cruel way, on the Estonian bourgeois government? and did not Estonia yield up its rights to the great powers? By remaining silent on the former and overemphasizing the latter, the Initiative Center is in my opinion playing a dirty game. And when it states that "unrestricted migration is already threatening the territorial integrity of Estonia" this can be understood only as deliberately exacerbating inter-nation relations for the sake of political gain. This is why the reservation made in the "Position of the Initiative Center of the Popular Front" to the effect that it "does not consider justified separatist aspirations that fail to take into account international economic, political and ethnic factors" does not convince me. This is merely a fog of words, a unique camouflage for the separatist aspirations that permeate the "Position" statement. It is now obvious that it is not happenstance that the Popular Front leaders in no way dissociated themselves, for example, from the slogans being shown by pickets at the Supreme Court building: "We Are Relinquishing Soviet Citizenship!"

[Question] I think that this is all retribution for the mistakes in the conduct of national policy and for neglect of the national factor. For a long time we pretended that everything here was fine, that there were no problems. But there are problems, and very acute ones. The public movement that subsequently was formed under the aegis of the Popular Front and then under the aegis of the International Movement has revealed them. It has revealed them but has still not resolved them. Meanwhile, it is useful to turn to the 19th All-Union Party Conference resolution "On Relations between the Nations," where it states in particular that "life has convincingly shown that wherever the practice of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism has become anemic, national narrow-mindedness and chauvinist arrogance are activated.... Any actions that disunite the nations and nationalities and any attempts to infringe upon the rights of citizens of any nationality must be regarded as morally unacceptable and at variance with the interests of the Soviet state."

[Answer] This is exactly what we are now seeing, and in my opinion these most important propositions are either being forgotten or abandoned in principle. Under the guise of fine-sounding phrases about defending and supporting restructuring, essentially an attack is being launched against it. For the new document of the Popular Front turns inside out the concept of inter-nation and intrastate relations that is contained in the resolutions of the 19th party conference. As a communist and as a Soviet patriot-internationalist I cannot and will not agree to this. Of course, we need to perfect our Constitution, guaranteeing undeviating observance of it in the spirit of democratization. But some zealous supporters of democracy are throwing the baby away along with the water and placing our USSR under threat. I say this because in its "Position" statement the Popular Front Initiative Center is already reporting that Estonia's political sovereignty can be accomplished only in the form of a socialist national statehood based on the right to self-determination: "The least painful way to this lies in transforming the USSR from a union state into a union of states." Can this be compatible with the position in the resolution "On Relations between the Nations" where it states that all national problems "should be resolved calmly and with an extraordinary sense of responsibility.... primarily one step at a time.... without detriment to the national cohesion of the Soviet people. It is essential to create the kind of public atmosphere in which a person of any nationality will feel at home in any part of our socialist motherland." This is precisely the goal that the International Movement has set for itself under present conditions.

[Question] How representative is Intermovement today?

[Answer] It has moved beyond the confines of Tallinn city and has support groups in Kokhtla-Yarve, Sillamyaye and Payde, and people have come to us from Narva, from Tartu.... Those who started the movement—all young people—have now been joined by the veterans—a fine alloy.

[Question] Your movement is sometimes accused of attachment to Stalinist methods in politics: intolerance of different opinions, the desire to argue with threats rather than reason. I note that for me this kind of narrow interpretation of Stalinism seems somewhat naive, nevertheless.... How do you respond to these rebukes? Because, in my opinion, there are some grounds for this: some of your supporters are unable to speak to large audiences without their pieces of paper, and they start to shout and use stereotype phrases....

[Answer] Us—Stalinists? Well! I myself was born after Stalin's death, and along with the majority of Intermovement members am not infected with chauvinism, fear of cruelty, or the desire to suppress anyone. It is another matter that we sometimes do not speak as effectively as our colleagues from the Popular front, but Intermovement has existed for less than a month; give us time—we shall learn to be restrained and talk from rostrums.... And we have no truck with Stalinists; this is a program matter for us. But I do think that essentially no one seriously takes us for Stalinists; this is simply a convenient screen for demagogues, behind which opponents from Intermovement can be pushed. In my opinion such accusations come from those who, sensing the vulnerability of their own position, are looking for some loophole to move away from dispute on problems of principle. Incidentally, something that I have not heard is the Popular Front sharply dissociating itself from the MRP-AEG group or accusing it of various mortal sins, as has happened in the case of Intermovement. The Popular Front leaders have still not made any statement regarding L. Parek to the effect that she and her accomplices are not needed or that they represent no one, while both verbal and printed statements have been made about us in the newspapers and on television.... And this despite the fact that the Parek group regards itself as a political movement while we consider ourselves a public movement....

[Question] Late in July at the initiative of the council of the labor collective at the Dvigatel Plant a conference of representatives of 40 councils of labor collectives in Tallinn took place. What do you think about that meeting and the documents that were adopted?

[Answer] The value of that meeting was that it demonstrated the position of a considerable proportion of Tallinn's working class, and that the International Movement is not something alien to it. We found no fundamental differences there. Let me qualify that: I do not exclude possible differences in questions of tactics, but our strategy is a common and united strategy. Rapprochement has taken place and now we can look to the future with great optimism. At the conference representatives of the city party leadership tried for the first time to formulate their position and explain their actions. We did not see their entire program but the attempt itself can only be welcomed.

[Question] Notwithstanding, in the press and at meetings voices are heard quite often calling for the dissolution, closure and liquidation of precisely the International Movement as quickly as possible because it is allegedly hampering the work of the Popular Front in uniting the entire population....

[Answer] It is still difficult to say whether our movement will develop or whether it will be muffled.... But in that case it will in all probability assume another form. For this issue will not be removed from the agenda and the problem will not be resolved; it will merely be driven deeper. However, we must not discount the following factor: the "Pamyat" society is active in our republic and its leaflets are already being distributed here.... I do not think that in our republic the "Pamyat" ideas will fall on fertile ground, but history teaches us that at some stage chauvinist and nationalist excesses close ranks. You will agree that there is food for thought here.

[Question] What the the International Movement's plans for the immediate future?

[Answer] On 16 August we are going to hold a conference of proxies from the support groups. Here we hope to adopt our platform, and a draft is now being studied in many labor collectives, debate is under way, and comments and proposals are being made. It it will be necessary to resolve organizational questions. At the 23 July meeting we were convinced that the ideas of the International Movement are finding a broad response among the working class and the intelligentsia. Their representatives should also be in the movement's aktiv. I note that according to my information no one from the initiative group has awarded himself general's epaulets; we believe that we have fulfilled our part of the task. If it is considered that we should subsequently stand at the head of Intermovement then we shall remain; if worthier people are chosen we shall yield our places. But of course, we shall not leave the movement itself because we initiated this cause from a deep conviction about the correctness of restructuring. At present we can say nothing about our specific actions subsequently; time will tell. And with time we are learning.

Youth News Daily Reports on 'Sajudis' Congress

PM0811151388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 88 p 4

[Report by special correspondents V. Zarovskiy and S. Kozyrev under the rubric "We Learn Democracy": "Who Votes for 'Sajudis'?"]

[Text] Vilnius—Believe it or not, as you like, but we saw with our own eyes a real butterfly fluttering over the heads of delegates in the Palace of Sport. Where did it come from? "It is spring in Lithuania," the delegates joked. "It is spring in Lithuania!"—they said perfectly seriously from the rostrum....

"Sajudis"—the Lithuanian movement for restructuring—is not yet 5 months old. Is it possible to speak of its deeds in the present tense? During this time 1,000 groups to promote the movement have been set up in Lithuania. This means approximately 180,000 activists. Precisely 1,127 delegates came to the congress. But not even the press center knows how many people support the movement in Lithuania.

Newspapers published Sajudis' program 10 days before the congress, and the congress itself was announced a week in advance. And yet it was not even held by a bibliophiles' society. By an organization which did not have such a thing as staff workers or even the status of an organization. Where were the delegates to be accommodated? Where were they to be fed and with what? For the congress was held on people's days off. How were they to be transported? For, according to one of the members of the organizing committee, the congress cost R80,000-90,000.... The republic government paid some of it. More than 2,000 Vilnius residents offered their apartments to congress delegates for these 2 days. Simultaneous translators, as well as bus pool drivers, worked for nothing.

...She works for two newspapers at once. For one as chief editor, and for the other as a proofreader. The first is published by the Sajudis group in Trakay, and the second by the party raykom.

But why did Trakay need a second newspaper?

"Because of the lack of information about Sajudis' activities in the rayon," Asta said. "Although there is nothing in our materials that would prevent them being published in the rayon newspaper. We merely coordinate 'Sajudis'' activities."

A. Chekuolis, leader of the press center, was asked at a press conference: How many party members are there in the Sajudis action committee? "Seventeen out of 35," came the answer. But the whole point is that during the elections no one was asked about his party membership. People were chosen for their public stance. No, Sajudis is not a new party, not an opposition. This is stated in the first lines of the movement's program. But how far do civic and political interests in Lithuania coincide?

Until recently the attitude to Sajudis on the part of senior leaders was restrained. So it is understandable why the speech of A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, was awaited with special interest at the congress. A very great deal in the atmosphere of the congress depended on his words. Quite honestly, the place Sajudis will occupy in the life of Lithuania depended on them. In addition, it was virtually his first public statement. A. Brazauskas had been elected first secretary at a Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum 2 days before the start of the congress. But Brazauskas did not duck the questions to which answers were awaited. He said that history unreservedly asserts that, if there is a single ruling party, various public associations are needed. They make it possible to vary the arsenal of means of manifesting our society's activeness. It is important to see the common goal and to seek points of contact and positions of cooperation on the way to achieving it. He also said that the republic's party organs have made mistakes in their assessments of the Sajudis movement.

Journalists from 17 countries were accredited to the congress. Why was such active attention paid to Sajudis? In the opinion of our colleagues, the front line of restructuring now passes through the Baltic republics. Perhaps it was just this view of the congress that prevented the foreign reporters from making not just "geographic" discoveries in Vilnius. At least the congress protested against the distorted information about its work put out by Voice of America.

But, to be frank, there was also confusion among our own journalists in the face of the events unfolding on the stage in the Palace of Sport. Confusion owing to the novel and unusual nature of the ideas and proposals: Such a thing had never happened before, so how were they to treat it?

Sajudis is lucky in terms of people who have proved capable not only of speaking strong words but also of carrying out strong actions. Journalists managed to mix more often with one of them—A. Chekuolis, chief editor of the weekly GIMTASIS KRASHTAS—than with other members of the action committee. He has transformed his publication from an insignificant into an authoritative one in record time. How? By stopping trying to turn every attempt at glasnost into an act of civic courage. Because he is sure that this is just the norm.

...The second day of the congress began with divine service. Thousands of Vilnius residents, believers, gathered for a solemn mass next to the cathedral. The previous day it had been announced at the congress that the Government of the Lithuanian SSR, mindful of the wishes of the public and of believers, had decided 22 October 1988 to return Vilnius Cathedral, which housed a picture gallery, to the Lithuanian Catholic Church.

The plan for the republic's transfer to economic accountability [khozraschet] has been published in Lithuanian newspapers. But members of Sajudis—economic scientists—were also involved in drawing up that plan. This fact does not surprise us, rather the reverse—this is how cooperation should be. Particularly as one of the movement's chief goals is Lithuania's economic independence. Economist Kazimera Prunskene, member of the Sajudis action committee, said that the movement's opponents doggedly look for separatism and national egotism in the concept of economic independence. Arguments? Defense of all-union: nationwide property which has, in fact, become anonymous. In return Sajudis offers a real master, in the shape of the republic.

The congress adopted the program and 34 decisions. What are they on? On economic sovereignty, the ecological situation, the status of the Lithuanian language, and interethnic relations. There were also resolutions on sobriety, the role of the mother and the family, and even sporting and tourist voyages under sail.

From the speech of Bronyus Genzyalis, member of the movement's action committee:

"People lack good-quality food.... There are shortages everywhere. People are waiting for apartments, and cannot go on waiting until they reach pension age. Let us be honest and admit that for a civilized person our hostels are like flophouses for the homeless. There are not enough hospitals, kindergartens, creches, or schools, although there is no shortage of luxurious offices for the chiefs.

"Families are disintegrating. In the press we read: 'There are now more orphans than during the postwar years....' Have we taken any interest in the position of young mothers? Most frequently they live in a hostel, often illegally. Their wages are such that they cannot live without outside help. Do we know how many women who have just given birth and abandoned their babies do not have accommodation?

"A new stage of our activity is now imminent: the resolution of urgent problems. We are obliged not only to criticize but also to think what to do to ensure that things do not go on like this."

This is the formula of Sajudis: Not to criticize but to propose and act. So, what has been done? Why is it so important for us to list examples of these deeds which already really exist? Because for us this is primarily an example of the revival of trust between society and the Lithuanian leadership.

It is planned to submit the following draft provision of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution for examination at the republic Supreme Soviet session to be held 17 November this year: "Lithuanian is the state language of the Lithuanian SSR...."

It is to be used in ministries, in enterprises (the official language!), in trade, and even on ships. The same draft provides for guarantees of the free use of the Russian language as the means of communication among the country's peoples.

The founding congress of the "green" movement was held in Vilnius in October and was preceded by ecological campaigns, the collection of signatures against construction of the third unit of the Ignalina AES, and very active work by dozens of ecological clubs in the republic. The "greens" were represented at the congress by Alfonsas Matsaytis, first secretary of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee.

From the speech of Alfonsas Matsaytis:

"...For the Lithuanian Komsomol to be raised to new life, it must be an independent organization with its own statutes, its own program, membership, and symbols. This is a fundamental question. The time has come to really be equal in the union of equal republics. And we will do this without fail.

"...Young people must have the right to choose. We need right now an association of Lithuanian youth organizations which would embrace all youth organizations on equal terms."

A group to promote the Lithuanian movement for restructuring has been set up in Vilnius' Leninskiy party raykom, to struggle for glasnost and democratization in the party apparatus. Although there are hundreds of Sajudis groups in Lithuania, why is precisely this address important to us? Because, even before it was born, the movement encountered resistance precisely from apparatchiks. And rumors spread around Lithuania—"a new party is being created which calls on Lithuania to leave the Soviet Union." Permission for every action and rally had literally to be wrested from the authorities, which confused the causes with the effect. It was not the new "party," not Sajudis that occasioned this upsurge of a public movement. It was all exactly the other way round—Sajudis was born of the entire people's enthusiasm.

In Lithuania synonyms of Sajudis are revolution and rebirth (this, incidentally, is the name of the movement's bulletin—VOZROZHDENIYE). But we would like least of all for these notes to arouse in our readers a feeling of "profound satisfaction" and complacency. Not everything here is unambiguous, many trends are still embryonic, and it is hard to say what shape they will take.

The desire to write the history of Lithuania without cuts and to realize national and state sovereignty deserves profound respect. But attempts to put this movement on a nationalist footing are also palpable here. They have seemingly quite "euphonious" aims. Certain speeches even cast camouflage aside. There were demands for Lithuania to secede from the Soviet Union. And not only in the corners but also from the congress rostrum. Likewise there were nationalist posters at the rally in Cathedral Square and leaflets with appeals to Poles, Russians, and Jews to unite in the struggle for their rights. So there were provocations and extremes in the speeches and the attaching of labels. But the congress called them precisely provocations. People said a surprisingly great deal about the exacerbation of national relations in general. For Lithuania is the best-off republic in this sense (as distinct from Estonia and Latvia), where Lithuanians make up 80 percent of the population. But it is possible to suggest reasons for the panic sentiments and rumors: Sajudis will force everyone to speak Lithuanian as of tomorrow! Or—they will expel all Russians to Russia. Indeed, Lithuanian language courses have been organized in establishments (we have seen such an advertisement even in SOVETSKAYA LITVA's editorial office). And if we are to believe the movement's program, Sajudis not only does not spurn the interests of the other peoples living in Lithuania but also supports their desire to preserve their own consciousness.

The fears of the Russian speakers are explicable and understandable. But true internationalism is possible only with mutual respect for each people's culture, language, and history. Incidentally, the congress guests included the poet Andrey Voznesenskiy, who greeted Sajudis in Lithuanian! Not without grammatical mistakes, it is true.

The movement is only just coming into being, and it is as heterogeneous and ambiguous as its members' speeches at the congress. There were constructive proposals and criticism too—both just and unsubstantiated. There were debatable and totally unacceptable ideas. But this, we believe, must not serve as grounds for all kinds of fears. But, to speak of real life, there is concern. Among those who have been nicknamed migrants, for example.

There are mutual rebukes and grudges. It is very important for the equal social, economic, and other rights for all the nationalities living in Lithuania proclaimed in the Sajudis program to become reality. The revival of Lithuanian national consciousness, as authoritatively stated from the congress rostrum, gives no grounds for alarm on the part of representatives of other peoples.

Yes, the problem of interethnic relations does exist. And its resolution demands mutual interest and respectful work. The chief point, so it seemed to us, is that the people of Lithuania today are ready to take a real part in the democratization and restructuring process taking place throughout the country.

A few details. There was no ordinary presidium on the stage. Just a small table for the moderator. People stood to see the delegate off the stage—a throwback to the rallies at which Sajudis was born. Throughout these 2 days the republic television showed live relays of its work. There were no secrets from Lithuania....

...We found it difficult to write about "Sajudis." The event did not fit within the usual system of coordinates. It is still more difficult to assess what has been started. But Lithuania's future depends in many ways on Sajudis too. This is why all the new movement's decisions and actions must be extremely responsible. Who knows what this infant nicknamed Sajudis will grow into? It now has both opponents and supporters, triumphs and mistakes.

Past, Present of Ethnic Germans Viewed

PM0811141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 88 Second Edition p 8

[V. Auman and V. Chernyshev report: "The USSR Is Our Common Home. Soviet Germans Before the War and Today"]

[Text] Moscow—What do we, the inhabitants of a multiethnic country, know about the whole series of peoples that inhabit it, their history, customs, and culture? Let's be frank: not a lot. Especially about some that may even be quite numerous. We can't get by without this knowledge if we really want to boost the level of interethnic contacts and strengthen the friendship between the peoples rather than just paying lip service to the idea. The Soviet Germans are among the peoples who have for various reasons, as it were, dropped out of sight of the broad public for a time. The lack of information about this large ethnic community sometimes results in curious incidents. For instance, Soviet Germans are taken to be former prisoners of war or for some kind of immigrants. Being ill-informed gives rise to rumor and prejudice.

According to the 1979 All-Union Population Census data, there are approximately 2 million Germans in the USSR (14th in terms of numbers, approximately 0.7 percent of the population). Who are they, these Soviet Germans? Their distant forebears began to migrate to Russia back in the 17th century. A district called Nemetskaya Sloboda (German settlement) took shape in Moscow which was described by A. Tolstoy so clearly in the novel "Peter the First" ["Petr Pervyy"]. During the time of Peter's transformations it became something like a Moscow "gateway to Europe."

In the second half of the 18th century the Germans began to settle in the Volga and Dnepr regions and on the shores of the Black Sea. Massive migration also continued in the 19th century. In 100 years—from 1764 through 1864—190 colonies sprang up in Samara and Saratov provinces alone. Although the settlers also received definite privileges, their life was far from serene. Famine, lean years, and oppression by tsarist officials and the colonies' administration aroused growing discontent. By the end of the last century the Russian Germans had been deprived of their former advantages and were suffering increasing ethnic oppression.

As social contradictions grew, they joined the revolutionary movement with increasing vigor. Peter Schmidt, leader of the uprising on the cruiser "Ochakov," and Nicholas Bauman, a participant in the first Russian revolution and a Bolshevik, played great roles in the movement. That renowned son of the Volga region Emmanuel Kviring was the secretary of the Bolshevist faction in the Fourth State Duma and one of the first staffers of Lenin's PRAVDA. Following the October Revolution, Kviring worked at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and was deputy chairman of the Supreme National Economic Council and the USSR Gosplan. Ludvig Martens, a member of the "Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class" and subsequently the Soviet Government's first official representative in the United States, and Vasiliy Schmidt, who held the posts of people's commissar for labor and deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars in the twenties, organized revolutionary activity in Petersburg.

V.I. Lenin signed a decree 19 October 1919 on the creation of the Volga Germans' Labor Commune (autonomous oblast) on the territory of the former colonies. In 1924 the oblast was transformed into an autonomous republic as part of the RSFSR. According to 1939 census data, 605,500 people lived on its territory. Germans made up 66.4 percent of the population. By the late thirties the ASSR had become a region with progressive agriculture and rapidly developing industry. The republic achieved major successes in the educational and cultural spheres.

Before the war the Soviet Germans had a number of ethnic regions, where approximately one-third of the German population lived, together with the autonomous republic. In the Ukraine, Siberia, and other regions German schools operated and newspapers, magazines, and books were published in German.

Stalin's personality cult and the violations of socialist legality associated with it had a pernicious effect on the life of the German population. In an atmosphere of growing suspicion and spy mania, ethnic rayons were groundlessly eliminated even before the war; DEUTSCHE ZENTRAL-ZEITUNG, which had been published since 1926 in Moscow, was closed down, and German language teaching stopped in all regions apart from the Volga Germans' ASSR.

Fascist Germany's attack on the Soviet Union united the whole country into a single combat camp. From the first days of the Great Patriotic War the Soviet Germans also joined the ranks of those defending the socialist motherland. The Hitlerites' calculation that they would be able to turn the German ethnic minority into their "Fifth Column" failed. The Soviet Germans fought courageously against the invaders in Belorussia, the Ukraine, and the Moscow and Leningrad sectors and fulfilled special missions in the rear of the enemy. In August 1941 the country learned of Red Army soldier Heinrich Hoffmann's heroic deed. Severely wounded, he was captured. The Hitlerites tried to urge him to change sides and demanded that he give them information that constituted military secrets. Hoffmann refused. He was then subjected to terrible torture. The Red Army soldier remained true to his oath and died a hero.

During the first few months of the war the situation on the front was extremely unfavorable for our troops. The enemy broke through to the capital and to other vitally important centers in the country. The question of the very existence of the Soviet state and socialist gains arose. It is understandable that under these conditions extreme measures were taken to safeguard the security of the rear. One such measure was the eviction of Germans from the European area of the USSR. However, this was carried out not as an evacuation but on the false pretext that the Volga Germans were collaborating with the enemy. Many thousands of them were administratively resettled into the eastern part of the country and imprisoned. The autonomous republic ceased to exist. An order was issued dismissing Germans from the serving army.

Soviet Germans did not blame the party and socialism for their misfortunes for they believed that sooner or later justice would prevail. Many of them were mobilized into the labor army. Wherever they worked during the war years—on construction sites, in kolkhozes, forestry establishments, or in the mines—they worked selflessly in an endeavor to bring victory nearer. The defense fund received hundreds of thousands of rubles from them. This did not go unnoticed in Moscow. One of the leaders of construction workers in Krasnoturinsk area received the following telegram from the supreme commander-in-chief:

"I ask you to send my fraternal greeting and the Red Army's thanks to the workers, technical engineering workers, and employees of German nationality working in the construction base who have collected R353,785 for the construction of tanks and R1,820,000 for the construction of an aircraft squadron."

The exploits of thousands of Soviet Germans on the fronts were received recognition in the form of combat medals. Major General Sergey Volkenstein, Partisan Commander Alexander German, the renowned Richard Zorge, and his colleague Robert Klein were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. Lieutenant Valdemar Ventzel, who perished during the forced crossing of the Dnepr, tank crew members Peter Miller and Michael Gekkel, Colonel Nicholas Okhan, and reconnaissance officers Nicholas Geft and Eduard Erdman fought bravely for the Soviet motherland. There were Germans among the heroic defenders of the Brest Fortress (Major A. Dulkeit, Senior Lieutenant Ye. Kroll, regimental doctor V. Weber, and Senior Lieutenant Schmidt) in the underground in Kiev, Taganrog, Smolensk, Budennovsk, and Dnepropetrovsk and in other areas of the struggle against the fascists.

One would have thought that the war had clearly shown who was who and that the accusations against the Soviet Germans, and thus the legal restrictions, would disappear of their own accord. However, these hopes were not justified. Moreover the line of flouting their rights was reinforced in the atmosphere of continual lawlessness. In 1948 a decree was adopted prohibiting Germans from returning to their former place of residence, and fixing long terms of imprisonment for leaving the special settlements without authorization.

Justice only began to be restored after Stalin's death. Before the 20th CPSU Congress many legal restrictions were abolished and the special registration system was eliminated. In May 1957 the first edition of NEUES LEBEN was published in Moscow and a month later ROTE FAHNE began to be published in Altay. Later FREUNDSCHAFT began to come out in Tselinograd. Radio broadcasts were resumed and books by writers writing in German began to appear on sale once again. Groups began to be set up to study German as a native language in secondary schools in Kazakhstan, the RSFSR, and Kirghizia.

Of great political significance was the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 28 August 1964, which said the following: "Life has shown that...the groundless accusations were unwarranted and a manifestation of the arbitrary rule under conditions of Stalin's personality cult. In fact, during the years of the Great Patriotic War, through their labor, the overwhelming majority of the German population promoted the Soviet Union's victory over fascist Germany together with the entire Soviet people, and during the postwar years are taking an active part in Communist construction." A great deal has changed in the life of Soviet Germans since this decree was adopted. All enactments, including the "sublegal" acts that limited their rights—for instance, their right to return to the areas from which they had been evicted—were abrogated.

Citizens of German nationality take an active part in economic and cultural construction and in implementing the restructuring and revolutionary renewal of all aspects of the life of society. The delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress, who approved the course of restructuring, included 10 Communists of German nationality, including machine operator Natalia Gellert, whom the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum promoted from candidate member to full member of the CPSU Central Committee.

Soviet Germans are represented in the supreme organs of power of the union republics and the USSR. They have made and are making a marked contribution to the development of national science, technology, and culture. Let us recall Otto Schmidt and Ernst Krenkel, the famous polar explorers of the thirties, who were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. World-renowned scientists Academicians Boris Rauschenbach and Vladimir Engelgardt, Freidrich Tsander, one of the pioneers of cosmonautics, Svyatoslav Richter and Rudolf Kerer, outstanding pianists, and many others.

The conditions for the development of the Soviet Germans' ethnic culture have improved year after year, although not as quickly as we would like. A drama theater has been opened. It is at present based in Temirtau, Karaganda Oblast, but a decision has already been adopted to transfer the theater to Alma-Ata. All the actors are graduates of the M.S. Shchepkin Higher Theater School. The HEIMATLICHE WEITEN literary almanac began to be published in 1981. FREUNDSCHAFT, which has been published for more than 20 years in Kazakhstan, was transferred from Tselinograd to Alma-Ata 2 years ago. The Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium recently adopted a resolution on improving the teaching of the German language as a native language. The question is being raised of opening German ethnic schools —and not just in Kazakhstan either.

During the postwar years many Soviet Germans have advocated the restoration of the autonomous republic. Proposals regarding the re-creation of the Soviet Germans' statehood are being studied by party and state organs centrally and in the localities.

The following problem must not be hushed up either. Some Soviet citizens of German nationality are leaving to live permanently in the FRG. The Western mass media are trying to create the impression that it is a question of some kind of "spontaneous" phenomenon that has nothing to do with Western countries' propaganda centers. But this does not correspond to reality. Some Soviet citizens of German nationality, who generally have an extremely remote idea of life in the FRG, set off on a journey of thousands of kilometers to their "historic homeland" in search of a "better lot." We will not hide the fact that their choice is sometimes affected by the negative experience of the past and the failure to resolve some of our current problems. The indigenous inhabitants of the FRG regard the immigrants as secondrate citizens.

Experience shows that in those areas where Soviet Germans' ethnic requests of Soviet Germans are met consistently, where the urgent problems of their life are resolved in a timely fashion, and ideological work is carried out in a well thought out fashion, there are no "exodus sentiments."

Soviet Germans have never, even during the most difficult times, detached their interests from the interests of the country in which they were born and raised. The Soviet Germans' homeland is here and the problems that trouble them must be resolved here, resolved by common efforts and with consideration for their ethnic features, their requirements, and those of the peoples around them, in the spirit of fraternal friendship that exists between all the peoples of the USSR, whose foundations were laid by V.I. Lenin.

More Indictments Forseen After Churbanov Verdict

WA18000126 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Nov 88 p 6

[Interview conducted by PRAVDA correspondent G. Ovidrenko with A.F. Katusev, USSR Deputy Prosecutor General]

[Text] [Question] **Of late many readers have turned to PRAVDA with the request for information on the proceedings of the trial of Yu. Churbanov and other former senior personnel of internal affairs organs. These questions were asked by our correspondent of A.F. Katusev, USSR deputy prosecutor general.**

[Answer] As already reported in the press, Aleksandr Filippovich answered, the criminal trial of Churbanov and others was assigned to the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court. The hearings are continuing. I believe that after their completion the mass information media will be able to report the court's verdict.

[Question] **To the best of our knowledge, the trial of the internal affairs personnel is, one could say, just a chapter in the book on corruption and bribery in Uzbekistan. Our readers ask the following: Are the investigators continuing their work in the republic, and what new developments in this important case could the prosecutor's office report?**

[Answer] Indeed, the Churbanov case is only one of the numerous cases involving bribery, which blossomed in its time in Uzbekistan. Some of the criminally indicted have already been sentenced. The preliminary investigation of other individuals who held senior positions is drawing to an end. The question of prosecuting these cases in court will be decided in accordance with the law. The prosecutor's office will inform the mass information media of the facts at the proper time. Let me add that the group of investigators is continuing with its intensive investigation of crimes in that region. I. Usmankhodzhayev, former first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, A. Salimov, former chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and I. Dzhabbarov and N. Radzhabov, respectively former first secretaries of the Bukhara and Samarkand party obkoms were arrested recently.

[Question] **Incidentally, Aleksandr Filippovich, some readers consider that by identifying the detainees before the trial the newspaper is violating the principle of presumption of innocence. In your opinion, to what extent are such claims justified?**

[Answer] The presumption of innocence is a fundamental principle in a preliminary investigation and in all legal proceedings. According to the USSR Constitution no one can be considered guilty of a crime or subjected to criminal penalties unless sentenced by a court in accordance with the law. This requirement is mandatory for all, including the press. In this case, however, we have not violated the law by naming the detainees, for we have not predetermined the matter of their culpability. The court will decide whether they are guilty or innocent. Nonetheless, the law requires of the investigators in the presence of sufficient proof to charge a given individual with the commission of a crime. Having assessed the acquired proof, in accordance with the law, and on the basis of their personal conviction, based on the comprehensive, full and objective consideration of all the circumstances of the case, the investigators charged Usmankhodzhayev, Salimov, Dzhabbarov and Radzhabov with bribery.

[Question] **Our readers will be interested in details concerning the acts committed by the detainees and the course of the investigation. What can you tell us about it?**

[Answer] This is an extremely delicate matter. Of late individual citizens and even organization collectives have asked for details about one case or another in litigation. Whenever we, the law-enforcement authorities, refuse to meet such requests, we are charged with suppressing glasnost. Such is not the case. We are in favor of glasnost, but in no case to the detriment of objectivity and legality. The point is that making details of a preliminary investigation public could adversely affect the investigation of the case and make known the course followed by the investigation. In some cases making investigation data prematurely public could also harm the accused, particularly when sensationalist articles are published, which distort the nature of the case and generate a wrong public opinion. The materials of a preliminary investigation may be made public only by permission of the investigator or the prosecutor, and to the extent to which they deem this possible. Finally, for your information, I can tell you that the law considers criminally liable making the secrecy of an investigation public knowledge. As a prosecutor, I believe that giving today any details on the case against Usmankhodzhayev and others is inexpedient.

[Question] **Finally, one last question which the readers have not asked as yet but which can be easily anticipated: The point is that recently IZVESTIYA carried an article entitled "Corruption," according to which Ya. Nasriddinov, the former chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, accepted bribes but that the high-level protection she enjoyed during the period of stagnation allowed her to escape criminal liability...**

[Answer] All I can tell you is that long before the IZVESTIYA publication the USSR prosecutor's office had decided to reopen the investigation, in the course of which all circumstances relative to this case will be checked.

[Question] **Thank you for this talk. I believe that this once again proves the inescapability of punishment for committing a crime.**

Failure of 1956 De-Stalinization Viewed

PM0811155788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Prof A. Zevelev: "The Long Path to the Truth. A Party Historian's Notes About the 1956 Resolution 'On Overcoming the Personality Cult and Its Consequences'"]

[Text] It is a fact: The question of Stalin today perturbs the whole people and not just social scientists alone. And here is something especially noteworthy: People strive not only to elucidate **what** Stalin's personality cult was in the history of the country and of socialism, but also to accurately explain **why** many of this cult's offshoots proved so tenacious during the subsequent 3 decades in society's life.

Today you can read much businesslike material about the objective and subjective factors which shaped the Stalin cult, about the nature of the socialism which was built in our country, and about the reason why, in today's conditions, the party has put forward restructuring as the main force of future development. In other words, we have thoroughly searched the past and are now looking into the future. But our present still contains much that is holding us back. Despite the unprecedented positive changes in public awareness, we often come right up against bureaucratic barriers, many people's civic passiveness, and old conceptions.

I would like to speak about one of these conceptions.

The exposure of Stalin's personality cult occurred at the 20th party congress (February 1956). The congress adopted a 10-line resolution on N.S. Khrushchev's report "On the Personality Cult and Its Consequences." Almost 6 months later, on 30 June 1956, the CPSU Central Committee adopted the resolution "On Overcoming the Personality Cult and Its Consequences." It was held for quite a long time (and as a matter of fact many people still hold to this day) that it reflects all the objective and subjective conditions which shaped Stalin's personality cult.

Bearing in mind everything that we have learned in the last 3-4 years, we must ask ourselves: Is this true?

The 20th congress resolution and the Central Committee document certainly marked a return to the Leninist norms and principles of party leadership. Society's political and spiritual renewal began, even though some party members, clinging to the overthrown guidelines and dogmas, disapproved of the changes. An extremely complex situation developed. The party had to do a tremendous amount of work to explain its policy on the basis of the resolution, which, as it turned out, was by no means theoretically and gnoseologically impeccable. Even its title avoided mentioning the fact that it concerned Stalin's cult...

The present achievements of the social sciences explain the reasons why the work to cleanse the party and society of the accretions of Stalin's personality cult got "bogged down" and was not completed. One of those reasons was the fact that, in theoretical terms, the resolution itself failed to rise to the task set by the party and did not satisfy the social conscience of our country and the international communist movement. Therefore its practical implementation produced only halfhearted results.

For brevity's sake, let us dwell on just a few of its aspects. For example, it proclaimed Stalin to have been a "theoretician of Marxism-Leninism" and "active fighter for the implementation of Lenin's behests." Naturally, such expressions of respect for "the Leader" made it impossible to fully demonstrate Stalin's distortion of Lenin's concept of the building of socialism in the USSR.

It was further claimed that the personality cult, while seriously damaging the cause of the Communist Party and Soviet society, was unable to change the social system in the USSR. Indeed, the social system in our country has not changed. It is determined by deep-rooted factors like the nature of production relations, the absence of exploitation of man by man, and others. But socialism in the USSR suffered serious deformations like, for example, the distortion of the essence of socialist democracy, of Lenin's plan for the cooperative system, and so on. The resolution keeps silent about all this.

Under the influence of some members of the party leadership at the time (V.M. Molotov, L.M. Kaganovich, G.M. Malenkov) who tried to whitewash their own activities during the years of Stalin's cult, responsibility for its consequences was in fact shifted onto... the Soviet people. The resolution says: "In these conditions, any action against him (Stalin—A.Z.) would not have been understood by the people, and this is by no means a matter of lack of personal courage. It is clear that anyone who had acted against Stalin in this situation would not have gained support among the people."

We can only guess whether this resolution is the outcome of some compromise between N.S. Khrushchev and its editors. But something else is more important, incomparably more important: Was Stalin really a continuer of Lenin's work? Let us look at a fundamental question of Leninism like the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to Lenin's ideas, it was meant to become a new form of democracy. Much was done in a relatively brief period after October to establish a truly democratic system in our country. Unfortunately, the Civil War made it necessary to replace soviets in many places by revolutionary committees, extraordinary commissions, and other temporary organs of power. Following the war and "war communism," the process of society's democratization gathered pace with the introduction of the New Economic Policy [NEP]. But conditions for real participation by the majority of the people in running the affairs of the country and production could not be created overnight, there existed a breeding ground for deformation of people's power, and there remained a high degree of concentration of power in the hands of the state apparatus, which furthermore was, in Lenin's words, "downright bad" and "thoroughly alien to us." The statization of social life led to a fusion of the party and state apparatus. These phenomena were accompanied by growth of the bureaucracy.

Even at that time Stalin made considerable efforts to distort Leninism's ideas about the dictatorship of the proletariat and to adapt them to his own concept of the building of socialism. In his works "On the Foundations of Leninism" (1924) and "Regarding Questions of Leninism" (1926) he described the soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol, and the other public organizations as "a ramification of the party" and listed them among the so-called "drive belts" from the party to the working class, which, in turn, was proclaimed to be the party's army. The actual dictatorship of the proletariat, as Stalin conceived it, consisted of "the party's leading directives, plus implementation of these directives by the proletariat's mass organizations, plus their implementation by the population."

Stalin went on to "enrich" Lenin's teaching about the dictatorship of the proletariat with the thesis of the growth of class struggle. Here are a few relevant facts in chronological order:

—**July 1928.** Speaking at a party Central Committee plenum, Stalin put forward the proposition that supposedly, as the country advanced, the resistance of capitalist elements would grow and the class struggle would sharpen;

—April 1929. In his work "On Right-Wing Deviation Within the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)" Stalin accused N.I. Bukharin of "failing to comprehend" this "discovery" of his;

—June 1930. In his report to the 16th party congress, simultaneously with the conclusion that the question of "Who will defeat whom" had been finally and irreversibly resolved, Stalin put forward the thesis about the ensuing intensification of class struggle;

—January 1933. The report "Results of the 1st 5-Year Plan." The theory about the class struggle abating was proclaimed to be counterrevolutionary. And finally, the concluding formulation by the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee February-March 1937 Plenum: The class struggle sharpens as successes are achieved in the building of socialism.

The result was: The closer socialism approached, the more enemies there were.

The question of the party of the working class was another fundamental question of Leninism. Divergences developed here even while V.I. Lenin was still alive. Stalin substantiated his own "teaching" about the party as early as 1921 in the "Draft Outline of a Brochure 'On the Political Strategy and Tactics of Russian Communists.'" The Communist Party, he wrote, is "a kind of order **of sword-bearers** (I. Stalin's emphasis—A.Z.) within the Soviet state, guiding the latter's organs and inspiring their activity." He thus cynically likened the party to a militarized religious organization (like the old Livonian Knights), acting only at the will of its commander and fulfilling and implementing his directives. Of course, any struggle of opinions within a party built along the lines of an order of sword-bearers is impossible, it is unnatural. Here is a symptomatic fact: While Lenin and his true comrades-in-arms were still alive, Stalin did not dare publish his "theoretical revelation." He ventured to do so only after the end of the Great Patriotic War, in 1952, when his personality cult had intensified greatly. We can see that, even after the passage of 25 years, Stalin had not abandoned the desire to make the Communist Party a militarized organization subordinated personally to him.

The truth is that Stalin skillfully camouflaged his deviation from Leninism beneath his alleged loyalty to it, and hypocritically played on the trust of Communists and nonparty people in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and Lenin's great idea. At the same time, via the simplification and schematicization of theory, he took advantage of the insufficiently developed political thinking and gradually got the masses accustomed to the monstrous idea that any disagreement with Stalin's views and actions was supposedly a slander against the Communist Party and Soviet power.

Thus Stalin found himself alone at the helm of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Unfortunately, the party's democratic institutions were still weak and Stalin managed to halt their development by means of political intrigues and later on by repressions.

But Stalin's victory was not universal. It was primarily a victory in the spheres where he was strongest—the organizational, and partly the political spheres. This victory resulted in the tragic departure from the political arena of many of those who had stood together with Lenin at the head of the masses in 1917, who had headed the transition to the NEP and had achieved its first tangible results. Encountering no resistance, Stalin's authoritarianism evolved into totalitarianism. Even so, however, this turn of events gives no grounds to shift responsibility for the growth of Stalin's cult from the real culprits to the entire party and people.

Stalin's victory was truly a "Pyrrhic victory" since, to all intents and purposes, it rejected the humanistic nature of October and of our system and the fact that their primary goal is man. Stalin's "theory" of cogs had nothing in common with Lenin's faith in the masses, in the people, and in man after his first breath of freedom.

Party historical science must also shoulder responsibility for the fact that it has still not done any work to analyze and criticize materials whose incompleteness or inaccuracy are perfectly obvious today. It—and this has to be said with the utmost responsibility—has lost its prestige in society, having for many years performed **protective functions** by commenting on and paraphrasing party documents, including the 30 June 1956 resolution. It must bring into scientific circulation new sources, including those which have been stored behind the armored walls of special storage facilities. This applies primarily to works by Lenin's comrades-in-arms who were the innocent victims of repressions in the thirties. The CPSU's history has never been as straight as the sidewalks along Nevskiy Prospekt, it has never developed without having to overcome contradictions, zigzags, and deviations. Such an approach would make it possible to produce a truly scientific history of the CPSU. ...For a long time (and even now!) it was held that the numerous normative documents adopted during the years of Soviet power reflect nothing but the objective truth. This was largely connected with the fact that the information contained in them was absolutized. Their relationship to social and historical practice was never analyzed or verified. And yet this is what Lenin's demand requires!

In the conditions of the revolutionary renewal of the party and of society, when we are drawing further and further away from dogmatic-conservative thinking, it is necessary to profoundly and critically analyze the accumulated documents. There is a pressing and urgent need for a new generalizing party document which would explain the question of Stalin in the light of the 19th party conference ideas and the latest social science data.

This is by no means a need created by the habit of "unanimity." It is demanded by historical justice and by the forthcoming work on the creation of essays on CPSU history.

Comparison of Diplomatic Corps Doyen Speaks

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 6 November carries in its Second Edition on pages 1, 2 a TASS report on the speech by the doyen of the diplomatic corps at a 5 November Kremlin meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev. The PRAVDA report, entitled "Meeting With the Diplomatic Corps," has been compared with the Moscow Domestic Service in Russian version published in the 7 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 56-57, revealing the following variations:

Page 56

Column b

Paragraph four, fourth sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...these constructive efforts. We follow with profound interest your tireless constructive efforts and vigorous activity... (adding words to form additional sentence)

Same paragraph, final sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...development and prosperity of one's own country in a peaceful... (supplying alternative wording)

Agricultural

Zaykov, Ligachev Study Meat, Dairy Industry

*PM0811122188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "People's Just Demand. Building Up Production and Boosting the Quality of Meat and Dairy Output"—see Moscow television report on Zaykov and Ligachev visiting Moscow dairy and meat processing facilities published in the 3 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 53]

[Text] Soviet people in many respects associate the success of the restructuring under way in the country with the resolution of the food question. As is well known, great attention was devoted to this at the 19th all-union party conference. It is especially important to substantially increase the production of meat and milk, which are at present still in short supply.

Moscow's meat processing and dairy industry is a most important economic complex. Its annual sales of output exceed R1.5 billion. Approximately 500,000 tonnes of meat and sausage and 2.3 million tonnes of milk, cottage cheese, sour cream, and other valuable output are produced here annually.

Comrades L.N. Zaykov and Ye.K. Ligachev spent 4 days thoroughly studying the work of the capital's meat and dairy industry. They analyzed on the spot the progress made in fulfilling the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to strengthen the material and technical base of Moscow's processing enterprises, retool them, and increase production and boost the quality of meat and dairy products.

L.N. Zaykov and Ye.K. Ligachev visited a number of dairy and meat processing combines and plants, including some under construction. During meetings with workers and specialists in workshops, they inquired into their work conditions, the state of production life, and the assimilation of progressive forms of labor organization and incentives, the contract and the lease, and intraproduction economic accountability [khozraschet]. Great attention was devoted to the activity of primary party organizations and labor collective councils and boosting their role in developing democracy and glasnost, managing enterprises, strengthening discipline in production, and resolving social questions.

Meetings of the party-economic aktivs of the capital's meat and dairy industry were held to discuss the results of the visit. The following delivered speeches at these meetings: N.I. Antonov and Yu.A. Tulupov, general directors of Moscow dairy and meat industry production associations; I.M. Chizhevskiy, chairman of the Ostankinskiy Milk Combine Labor Collective Council; O.A. Pozdnyakova, chairman of the Moscow Meat Processing Plant Labor Collective Council, Yu.M. Luzhkov and V.S. Zakharov, chairmen of Moscow and Moscow Oblast Agro-Industrial Committees; P.S. Surov, chairman of the Moscow Construction Committee; G.D. Kolmogorov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Standards; Ye.I. Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; and others. They voiced a number of concrete proposals to improve the work of processing enterprises and improve the organization of trade in meat and dairy products.

L.N. Zaykov pointed out that workers in processing sectors are still heavily in Muscovites' debt. At present demand for meat and dairy output is still not being fully met, particularly for sausages, cheese, cottage cheese, and certain other products, and purchasers frequently complain about quality. It is evidently time to extend the state acceptance system to the entire technological process of food production, starting with raw materials. It is quite clear that processing plants forming part of associations must be allocated more considerable rights and given greater independence. They must join associations as economically accountable enterprises; this directly ensures that they operate more effectively.

The capital's processing sectors are a complex technological complex that includes automated production lines. That is why it is so important to systematically fill food industry enterprises with skilled workers and specialists. Moscow has an extensive vocational and technical education system and fuller use must be made of it in the interests of meat and dairy enterprises. At the same time the technical standard of equipment must be further raised and manual labor eliminated, since there is still too much of the latter in processing enterprises, especially during loading and unloading operations, output transportation, and meat dressing.

L.N. Zaykov also voiced a number of recommendations regarding the further integration of dairy production and the improvement of relations between people involved in it. Direct relations between livestock units and plants must be broadly introduced here. Dwelling on questions of improving housing and other sociocultural and domestic facilities for workers in the processing sectors, he stressed that neither the city soviets of people's deputies nor production associations and enterprises should evade resolution of these questions.

Summing up the results of the discussions, Ye.K. Ligachev stressed that the quickest way to resolve the food problem is to comprehensively develop the processing industry and create a modern transportation and storage base for agricultural output in the country. As for Moscow, a grave error was tolerated here: Meat processing capacties were not developed for a long time and there was a tendency to ship meat products into the capital from other regions in the country. It is now fully possible that the processing industry, especially the dairy processing industry, will in a short time be raised to a contemporary level in terms of its technical condition, and the meat processing industry will be resolutely taken in hand. This will make it possible to meet Muscovites' demands for food products more fully.

Vigorous work will have to be done for this. It is necessary to undertake the more thorough processing of raw materials, to strictly observe technologies that have been adopted, to assimilate progressive new technologies and waste-free production, and also to eliminate losses. Work to boost the quality of meat and dairy products must start with improving the quality of raw materials—improving the weight and nutritional state of livestock and also the quality of the milk procured from kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The attention of the sector's leaders was drawn to the need to generally strengthen the material and technical base for meat and dairy processing, both by constructing new enterprises and also by reconstructing and retooling existing ones. It is exceptionally important to boost the level of automation and computerization of the technological processes on which the quality of the manufactured food products directly depends.

Machine-building ministries often confine themselves to supplying processing enterprises with individual machines and mechanisms. Moreover, Soviet equipment uses virtually no microprocessors. There are cases where food industry specialists spend months sorting out equipment that has just arrived from machine-building enterprises. This was the case, in particular, with output from the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building and the Ministry of General Machine Building. While building up production capacities and raising them to a new, higher technical standard, it is necessary to make better use of existing capacities, particularly imported capacities. Technical maintenance and repair services for technological equipment must be strengthened. Leaders of enterprises, associations, and primary party organizations need to show more concern for forming stable labor collectives, boosting cadre skills, and resolving social questions.

When livestock rearing and milk production, transportation, processing, storage, delivery to the trade network, and sale of finished output to the population are economically and organizationally linked into a single process, there will be more meat and dairy products in the stores. It's worth fighting for this process!

Study of the work of the capital's processing plants showed, Ye.K. Ligachev pointed out, that the Moscow CPSU Gorkom and the Moscow Soviet are actively involving industrial, transport, and construction enterprises in resolving the tasks of this key sector, and are surrounding food industry worker collectives with concern. Ultimately this represents concern for all Muscovites. It is the duty of party, soviet, and economic organs in republics, krays, and oblasts to step up attention to collectives in the processing sector, increase the country's production, and boost the quality of meat and dairy output.

The following also took part in examining the questions: V.K. Mesyats, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Obkom; N.A. Pugin, USSR minister of the automotive industry; P.A. Paskar, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan; and V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom.

RSFSR Official on Economic Plans for 1990

LD0411000188 Moscow TASS in English 0406 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 2—By TASS Correspondent Petr Lidin:

The Soviet parliament several days ago discussed the results of the nation's industrial and agricultural performance in 1988 and adopted a plan for social and economic development in 1989.

The parliament of the Russian Federation will discuss the same issues as applied to this largest Soviet constituent republic at a session later this month, but the first deputy chairman of the republican government, Fikryat Tabeyev, agreed to comment in a TASS interview on economic results in Russia and tentative plans for next year ahead of that meeting.

"Favourable changes are under way in the Russian Federation, just like elsewhere in the country. The difficulties are many, but they are being overcome, and progressive trends in the economy are gathering momentum.

"This is indicated, for example, by the following economic performacne indices: In the first nine months of the year Russia's national income rose 5.3 per cent, with worker productivity going up 5.8 per cent. This is not at all bad. There are, however, many reasons to be distressed either. Housing construction plans, for instance, were not met."

Asked if that was the greatest concern for Russia's government, Tabeyev said:

"No. Our greatest concern today is securing growth in food production. Grain harvests here have been far from satisfying and livestock farming has not been productive enough as well. We pin serious hopes in this connection on 1989.

"The plan for next year, which is currently being drafted with the involvement of deputies serving on the Republican Supreme Soviet, includes one clearly defined priority: Nearly one-third of all capital investments in Russia's economy is to go to fulfill the food programme.

"Everything connected with improvement in the countryside, including new machines and technologies for crop farming and animal husbandry and the building of roads, housing, schools, polyclinics, club houses and other amenities, will be developed at a priority pace.

"Here's just one example: Over the past 12 years a total of 100,000 kilometers of roads have been built in the non-black-earth belt, a zone stretching in the middle of Russia from Smolensk in the west to the Urals in the east, and another 200,000 kilometres are to be added to the network in the next eight years. Billions of roubles are to be earmarked for the purpose as early as next year.

"We count very much on leaseholding catching on in the village. The experience of the Tula, Orel, Lipetsk and Belgorod regions shows that with all other conditions being equal, leaseholders produce 50 to 100 per cent more products than ordinary farms. This is why we shall be introducing leasehold arangements in Russia's villages widely, very widely."

Asked if that means that the non-black-earth belt is in general the area that enjoys priority attention in Russia today, Tabeyev said:

"It is not the only one that has our priority attention. Some other areas, for example the far east, are in the priority bracket as well. Home building in the far east, for instance, will be growing 15 percent next year as well as this year. This is a very high rate. But school construction will grow even more rapidly, at an average rate of 27 per cent a year. By acting in this way, we are making up for the time lost there during the years of stagnation."

The first deputy chairman of Russia's Council of Ministers was asked also about efforts made by it to encourage greater activity on the part of local governing councils. He replied:

"We in the government proceed from the premise that managing all the affairs from Moscow is neither possible nor expedient. This republic is vast, has a population of 150 million and could accomodate more than 30 such countries as France. This is why we have evolved a master scheme for administering Russia, which will make it possible to delegate a substantial part of the managerial responsibilities to the local soviets of people's deputies.

Kharkov Oblast Fulfills Plan for Grain Sales

AU0711145088 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 2 Nov 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "To the Homeland's Granaries"]

[Text] Kharkov, 1 November—Kharkov Oblast farmers have fulfilled the plan for grain crop sales to the state. They have already delivered to the homeland's granaries 1,136,000 metric tons of grain crops, including 800,000 metric tons of wheat, which is 80 percent of the share of valuable varieties in wheat deliveries.

The grain crops balance has been substantially increased by corn. Its per-hectare yields averaged 37 quintals, or 10 quintals more than last year. Such rayons as Gotvaldovskiy, Dergachevskiy, and Pervomayskiy have obtained 47-58 quintals of corn per hectare.

Almost the entire yield has been obtained by contracting collectives, of which there are more than 1,100 in the oblast, including 138 leasing ones. They used high-quality seeds and applied intensive technologies.

The sales of grain crops are continuing. The farms are fully provided with spring crop seeds.

Transcarpathian Oblast Fulfills Grain Plan

AU0711144488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Nov 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "Grain to the State"]

[Text] Transcarpathian Oblast farmers have sold the state 35,000 metric tons of grain crops, against the targeted 30,000 metric tons. Seeds and feed grain have been stored.

This year the farms obtained an average of 45 quintals of winter crops per hectare. The corn harvest is nearing completion. Its per-hectare yields average 65 quintals, and individual collectives hope to reach the 100-quintal mark. The selection of hybrids, mostly Soviet ones, well-prepared soil in the fall, and well-timed seeding have produced handsome results. Also the practice of allotting fields to mechanized teams, as well as the application of intensive tilling technologies and the experience of twice Hero of Socialist Labor Yu. Pitra, who is the oblast's oldest farmer, have proved their worth.

Regional Grain Harvest Totals Reported

PM0711153188 [Editorial Report] Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 2 November 1988 carries on page 1 under the headline "News From Fields" several reports on grain harvest totals.

A report from Kiev dated 1 Nov says: "Overall around the republic the harvest of grain crops excluding corn was lower than last year and amounted to 28.7 quintals per hectare. Grain totaling 16.5 million tonnes has already been sold to the state."

A TASS report from Ordzhonikidze dated 1 November, reporting on the situation in the North Osetian ASSR, says: "The farmers from North Osetia have fulfilled the sale of grain to the state. Select grain totaling 154,000 tonnes has reached the reception centers. The sale of grain to the state continues." The report also says: "A total of 94,000 tonnes of cobs were delivered to grain elevators and grading plants. High-quality and hybrid seed account for 56,000 tonnes."

Moscow PRAVDA 2 November Second Edition front-pages a TASS dispatch from Kharkov dated 1 November which says: "Oblast farmers have fulfilled the target for grain sales to the state. Grain crops amounting to 1,136,000 tonnes have been delivered to the granaries.

"Some 80 percent of the sales consisted of valuable wheat."

Agricultural Developments for 2-4 Nov

LD0611012388 [Editorial report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 2-4 November. GMT times of broadcast are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

2 November

Kazakhstan's corn-growers have completed their harvest. They have reaped corn stalks for silage from 2.2 million hectares, and corn for grain from 130,000 hectares. (1900)

3 November

Agricultural works in Kabarda-Balkar ASSR have overfulfilled their plan for grain sales to the state: 220,000 tonnes of high-quality grain crops have arrived at reception points, which is 40,000 tonnes above the plan. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 0745)

Tajikistan has fulfilled the plan for cotton sales to the state, with more than 900,000 tonnes having been delivered. The harvest continues. The cotton growers' success does not, however, solve the republic's food problems. The target of 900,000 tons of cotton is too high for Tajikistan's potential, since it means cutting the area under fodder and vegetables. The republic's agro-industrial committee has asked the USSR Gosplan for a reduction in cotton deliveries of 100,000 tonns so as to allocate some of the irrigated land to food crops and fodder. (1100)

Kharkov Oblast farms have fulfilled the plan for grain sales: 1,136,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered to the state. Our correspondent notes that virtually the entire harvest here has been grown by contracting collectives. This has had a marked effect on the quality of the grain. More than 80 percent of the wheat grown this year is grain of valuable varieties. (1900)

Experts say that "overall" the situation regarding seed is "better than last year". For the first time, previous years' shortages of lucerne seed have been eliminated and demand can be satisfied. The figures for availability of seed in good condition at the moment are 90 percent in the Ukraine, 67 percent in Turkmenia and Moldavia, 63 percent in Uzbekistan, but in Armenia only 11 percent and Kirghizia 26 percent. Winter sowing continues in Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. Autumn plowing is over in the RSFSR and is nearing completion in the Ukraine and Belorussia. Moldavia is "a little behind". (1600)

4 November

The last cotton needed to fulfill the plan arrived at procurement points in Turkmenistan today. More than 1 million tonnes of commercially valuable cotton have been gathered in the republic since the start of the harvest, one third of the harvest consisting of fine-fibered varieties. For the first time in the past few years Turkmenia has fulfilled the plan by machine-picking. (1600)

Scientific

Cosmonauts' Work on 'Mir' Complex Continues

LD0911110888 Moscow TASS in English 1102 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 9 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the flight control centre:

The Soviet "Mir" space research complex is continuing its flight.

Fourteen more research sessions have been carried out within the frameworks of the extra-terrestrial astronomy programme. They involved the use of the "Roentgen" international observatory telescopes. The observations were concentrated on the active galaxy nucleus in the Hunting Dogs constellation.

Today the space crew is adjusting the "Glazar" ultraviolet ray telescope for futher observations. They intend, among other things, to replace the film cassette.

In accordance with the medical control timetable the cosmonauts will carry out a regular check-up of their body masses. In the course of the day the crew will discharge several equipment and instrument maintenance jobs.

The medical check-up has shown that Vladimir Titov's pulse equals to 60, Musa Manarov's—62 and Valeriy Polyakov's—58 beats a minute. The corresponding arterial pressures are 120-75, 120-70 and 110-60 millimetres of the mercury column.

The programme is proceeding according to the adopted programme.

Status of Phobos Mars Probes Reported

PM0811141788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "En Route to Mars"]

[Text] Flight Control Center, 3 Nov—Work is continuing on the implementation of the international "Phobos" project.

In July and August 39 communications sessions were held with "Phobos-1," during which research was carried out into the Sun and interplanetary space. Using the "Terek" telescope-coronograph developed by USSR and CSSR specialists, more than 140 X-ray images of the Sun were obtained from on board "Phobos-1." They contain unique information regarding the structure and dynamics of the active areas in our star's atmosphere.

As already announced, the next scheduled radio communications session with "Phobos-1" on 2 September did not take place. The attempts by the control group over the next 6 weeks to resume communications did not bear fruit. At present work to restore radio contact with the station has been halted.

Using scientific apparatus mounted on the "Phobos-2" automatic station, plasma processes in space are being studied along the Earth-Mars route. New data has been obtained regarding the parameters of interplanetary magnetic fields, solar wind, and plasma waves. In the period from July through October a large number of solar flares and X-ray and gamma ray bursts were recorded on board the station. Television apparatus is is being switched on for test purposes during the flight. The "Fregat" videospectrometer was calibrated 10 October during observation of the star Canopus.

Soviet and U.S. radiotelescopes measuring the parameters of the "Phobos-2" apparatus' movement joined as of 14 October the work on the "Phobos" project. To this end a special transmitter emitting 18-cm radio waves is switched on on board the station at a set time. During the same period the position of the planet Mars was found by radar from Earth in order to clarify the parameters of its movement.

Continuing to move along the computed trajectory, "Phobos-2" was 60 million km from earth by 3 November. According to telemetric information, the station's onboard systems and scientific apparatus are working normally.

Military

Internal Troops Political Chief Interviewed

PM0811120988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 3 Nov 88 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with Major General A. Griyenko, member of the military council and chief of the USSR MVD Internal Troops Political Directorate, by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel S. Kalinayev: "There Is No Democracy Without Law and Order. Topical Interview on the Duties and Rights of Internal Troops Servicemen"—no place or date of interview given; first paragraph is a reader's letter; second paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Esteemed editorial office! My son Valeriy Ananyev is serving in the Internal Troops. He had to protect public order during the well-known events in Sumgait. He was wounded there. Of course, a mother's heart aches for her son. But I also think of other boys wearing the shoulderboards of Internal Troops servicemen, who are duty-bound to terminate illegal actions by people with extremist feelings. Are they reliably protected by the force of our laws against all sorts of hooligans, criminals, and provocateurs, and what are the rights vested in them in emergency situations?

These questions, contained in a letter from Galina Ivanovna Ananyeva from the city of Kuznetsk in Penza Oblast, also perturb other newspaper readers. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel S. Kalinayev met Major General A. Griyenko, member of the military council and chief of the USSR MVD Internal Troops Political Directorate.

[Griyenko] The worry of the soldier's mother is understandable and justified. As a matter of fact, we in the Political Directorate have also received recently a large number of letters along similar lines. Many writers, like

Muscovite T. Korobov for example, believe that the duties, rights, and safety of soldiers protecting public order must be more fully and more reliably guaranteed and defined by law.

The processes of democratization taking place in the country have released people's creative activeness and have given everybody an opportunity to express his opinion openly on any question. This is gratifying. But, alongside society's healthy forces, those who perceive democratization as total license and anarchy have also reared their heads. The muddy foam on the wave of restructuring and glasnost has spilled over in some of our cities' streets and squares. Provocative calls, fanning national dissent and sowing mistrust in and hatred for the organs of state power, can be heard now and again at different gatherings and unauthorized rallies. Sharp criticism of shortcomings and free polemics are at times replaced by "arguments" of brute force and reliance on artificially excited passions around some unsolved problem or another. Fights between clans of young hooligans which have swept through a number of cities are also a well known occurrence and have spread to many cities.

In these conditions, it was a natural and justified decision more actively to involve the Internal Troops in helping the militia and local party and soviet organs protect law and order. The gravity of the prevailing situation in many places can be judged by the following facts alone. By the beginning of August this year, there were 138 Internal Troops officers, ensigns, cadets, and soldiers being treated for wounds received when dealing with mass hooligan actions. Moreover, seven of them received serious injuries.

[Kalinayev] Are these figures not evidence of the inadequate legal protection for servicemen performing their service duty in the state's interests?

[Griyenko] There are no grounds for saying this. It is a different matter that the situation demanded swift and specific decisions to remedy the state of affairs. It was necessary to display restraint and common sense, to act strictly within the framework of socialist legality, and not to succumb to all sorts of provocations.

A few days ago the USSR Supreme Soviet session ratified the decrees "On the Procedure for Organizing and Conducting Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations in the USSR" and "On the Duties and Rights of USSR MVD Internal Troops in the Protection of Public Order."

These decrees, which have acquired the force of law, concretize important constitutional provisions and accurately define the rights and duties of citizens, as well as of state organs and public organizations, at the present stage of restructuring. They proceed from the premise that the implementation of democracy is impossible without firm legality and discipline. It was emphasized at the session that the new laws do not in any way pursue the goal of curtailing the political and social activeness of citizens or their initiative and self-motivated activity. On the contrary, their objective is to place the entire multiplicity of democratic initiatives on a firm legal foundation, give them a legitimate form, and consolidate them by means of additional guarantees.

[Kalinayev] The decree defines the functions of Internal Troops and outlines the range of tasks they perform. It seems that nobody should any longer doubt that they act only in the name of the people, of each and every one of us. But it is no secret that there are still people, and even press organs, voicing various fears on this account, while others present a distorted image of Internal Troops servicemen, perceiving them only as "guards of detainees," only as a crude force of suppression.

[Griyenko] Not everyone knows that the establishment and development of Internal Troops are linked with the names of V.I. Lenin and F.E. Dzerzhinskiy. They have always had a single objective, formulated in 1920 in a document signed by the head of the Soviet Government—to protect the existing system.

Speaking of the tasks performed by servicemen at present, they can be summarized thus: Guarding state facilities, special consignments, correctional labor colonies, and educational labor preventive detention centers, and assisting internal affairs organs in the protection of public order.

Now, about the "guards of detainees": First, the term "detainees" ceased to exist a long time ago—we now have the term "convicts;" second, as has already been said, the functions of Internal Troops are broader than just guard duties.

[Kalinayev] Aleksandr Ivanovich, let us dwell in greater detail on questions of the protection of public order. After all, we all are accustomed to the idea that this function is performed by militia staffers and not by Internal Troops subunits....

[Griyenko] This is quite correct. The basic burden of the maintenance of public order is naturally assigned to the militia organs. The relevant branches of our forces are the special motorized militia units and, whenever necessary, the operations units which perform patrol and guard service. Internal Troops also ensure public order during mass events....

In other words, our subunits come into action and terminate breaches only when these breaches are of a mass nature, threaten citizens' life and health, disrupt the work of enterprises, organizations, and institutions, or are aimed at wrecking and destroying state, public, or private property. Hence a number of fundamental elements as regards their use are enshrined in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree. In order to perform the aforementioned tasks and also to terminate group disobedience and mass disorders by convicts in correctional labor institutions, Internal Troops are brought in on the strength of decisions by the USSR minister of internal affairs or, in special circumstances, subject to consent by the USSR Council of Ministers. Moreover, it is prohibited to place Internal Troops units and subunits under the orders of local authority and administration organs.

[Kalinayev] There are many rumors around this article of the decree. Some people claim that this will place Internal Troops completely beyond all control by local administration organs and will make their actions almost illegal.

[Griyenko] This points requires comment. Under the law, the Internal Troops are a component of the USSR Armed Forces and, according to Article 73 of the USSR Constitution, leadership of the Armed Forces is under the jurisdiction of the USSR. Corresponding provisions to this effect are also enshrined in the USSR Armed Forces Regulations on Garrison and Guard Duty as ratified by a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree. Consequently, here we have absolutely nothing contrary to existing legislation. At the same time, let me note that there is not a single task which could be assigned to the troops without the knowledge of local organs and, furthermore, the practice of decisionmaking as regards troops' actions has developed a functional mechanism for their participation in it.

[Kalinayev] Aleksandr Ivanovich, the decree gives Internal Troops the right to use weapons. It is well known that this is the provision of which antirestructuring forces primarily take advantage, holding forth about virtual mass terror, harsh suppression of "dissidents," and so forth.

[Griyenko] Indeed, this provision has given rise to misinterpretations and at times to malicious attacks by those who are not averse to seeing the country in the grip of chaos, disturbances, and disorder. It is not hard to determine who would benefit from this. So as not to leave the slightest doubt, let me emphasize that weapons will be used only in exceptional cases, as an extreme measure. What are these cases? Protecting citizens from attack threatening their life and health, if it is impossible to protect them by other methods and means. The repulse of attack on special regime facilities and other important installations. The repulse of armed attack on installations being guarded. Weapons are also used in the event of attack on militia staffers, members of people's voluntary detachments, and servicemen when their lives are placed in immediate danger. And one last case: Weapons are used to detain a criminal who either offers armed resistance or is caught red-handed committing an especially dangerous crime, and when it is impossible to detain such persons using other methods and means.

I think that the expediency and the necessity of using weapons in the aforementioned situations is clear to everyone. It ought to be noted that it is prohibited to use weapons in crowded streets, squares, and other public places when bystanders may be hurt, against women and minors except in cases of armed attack by them, and against citizens accompanied by minors.

[Kalinayev] The use of weapons is an extreme measure. What other rights and powers are vested in Internal Troops servicemen?

[Griyenko] Let me answer by giving you a list. The troops are supplied with special means and equipment and servicemen have the right to inspect the documents of anyone suspected of having committed a crime; to hand over to the militia persons who have committed administrative offenses; to enter housing areas and premises of enterprises, organizations, and institutions in hot pursuit of persons suspected of having committed a crime; and also in order to intervene in the commission of a crime or an offense.

An explanation is called for at this point, because some people try to assert that this right is unlawful. A serviceman can enter a citizen's home only in two cases. If he has actually seen a person who has committed a crime going into hiding in some apartment, or if he is called by someone from the home to help.

Formerly these powers were vested with militia staffers and have now been extended to the Internal Troops. In emergencies servicemen are entitled to make free use of means of communications, to use state-owned vehicles to pursue criminals, to cordon off (seal) local areas or individual buildings and installations, to detain (in the event of no military patrols being available) servicemen in malicious breach of public order and hand them over to military commandants or military unit commanders. Let me add to this that the use of handcuffs is permitted in exceptional cases to stop unruly conduct and excesses by detainees, and also when escorting dangerous criminals.

[Kalinayev] Aleksandr Ivanovich, the law-governed duties, rights, and powers of Internal Troops which you have described evidently present far from simple tasks to the command, the officers corps, and the party and Komsomol organizations?

[Griyenko] Here we have a dual task. On the one hand, commanders, political organs, and Communists in the troops must play a more active and more purposeful part in the work of local party and soviet organs on the ideological, political, legal, and moral education of Soviet people, and especially among the young generation, part of which, unfortunately, has distorted and deformed values and moral guidelines. As a matter of fact, it is precisely on this condition that we can expect good new recruits in the troops and the population's understanding of and support for our actions.

On the other hand, it is necessary to work specifically, persistently, and according to the demands of restructuring, with people wearing the uniform of Internal Troops servicemen, to ensure that every serviceman strictly observes socialist legality, is honest, truthful, courageous, and fair in dealing with citizens, and valiantly and selflessly protects their personal dignity and their constitutional rights and freedoms against criminal infringements and other antisocial actions.

We must learn from V.I. Lenin how to evaluate the importance and significance of our service. Let me give you an example. Fighters from our troops' 457 Battalion, guarding the bridges across the Ucha and Klyazma Rivers, received thanks from Vladimir Ilich for the vigilance they had displayed. Their activity was, generally speaking, not out of the ordinary, but he described it as performance of revolutionary duty.

The Internal Troops serve the people, and that is why the work done by our soldiers—18-year olds like the son of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reader with whose letter we began our conversation, who perform complex tasks and often risk their lives to safeguard citizens' personal dignity and their constitutional rights and freedoms against criminal infringements—is sacred and just.

With rare exceptions, servicemen in the troops are worthy people, devoted to the cause of the party and the people. People like Lieutenant Colonel M. Filippov, Junior Sergeant S. Vetlugin, and Private A. Grushev, who have been awarded the Order of the Red Star. Others in the units and subunits try to emulate them.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the Internal Troops, being a component of the USSR Armed Forces, have a responsible attitude toward the performance of the tasks assigned to them. The improvement of the legal regulation of their activity will make it possible to perform even more reliably the complex duties of protecting public order, without which it is impossible to even imagine the establishment of a rule-of-law state and the further development of democracy.

Soviet Military Expert Comments on Afghanistan

AU0711190888 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 4 Nov 88 p 5

['Comment' by Colonel Vladimir Nazarenko for Vasil Asparukhov, Moscow correspondent: "Measures, Dictated by The Situation" — date not given]

[Text] Moscow, our correspondent's report—The General Staff of the Afghan Armed Forces has announced that new weapons of great destructive power were recently delivered to the Afghan Army. On this occasion, our Moscow correspondent Vasil Asparukhov asked Colonel Vladimir Nazarenko, a Soviet military expert, for a comment. He stated:

Half a year has elapsed since the Geneva agreements on the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan came into force.

The fact that this process did not mark essential progress should primarily be attributed to the stand adopted by Pakistan. This involves, in particular, the interference in Afghanistan's domestic affairs, which originates mainly from the territory of Pakistan. Large amounts of weapons are being transferred from Pakistan, including heavily armed formations and foreign instructors. Among the weapons supplied are "surface-to-surface" missiles, BM-40 jet systems with a wide range of operation, high-explosive shells and mines, as well as Stinger anti-aircraft missiles. The capital of the republic, Kabul, is systematically subjected to missile attacks, killing innocent people. In September 1988 alone, the so-called "irreconcilable opposition" carried out 1,160 actions using combat weapons. The goal of the extremists is to destabilize the situation in Kabul, in Jaalalabad, and in other large Afghan cities, to spread panic among the population, to undermine the prestige of the state, and to tear the country apart.

As early as August 1988 a Soviet Government declaration quite unmistakably stated: "If Pakistan should further interpret the Geneva agreements as only stipulating the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, while ignoring its own specific commitments about noninterference in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan, this may involve unfavorable consequences for the Afghan settlement. The Soviet Government firmly declares that if Pakistan should further pursue its present obstructionist line, the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan can no longer be observed."

This situation made the actions of the Afghan Government necessary. New powerful, destructive weapons were delivered to its armed forces. I am talking about operational-tactical missiles with a range of 300 kilometers. They have already been deployed in the Kabul garrison. Taking into consideration their long range and the country's relatively small territory, we can say that they are able to reach not only all the areas from which Kabul and other Afghan cities are being attacked, but even the bases and arsenals where the weapons of the "irreconcilable" ones are stored, namely in the vicinity of Pakistan's borders. The first strike was fired against the Marugad area in Nangarhar province, where a large intermediary [mezhdinno] base of the armed opposition had been equipped with weapons.

In conclusion, I would like to state that the deployment of new weapons is a measure imposed by necessity. Its only purpose will be to halt the criminal actions of the extremist groups, so as to defend the territorial integrity of the republic and its national sovereignty.

Soviet Spokesmen Discuss Military Developments

PM0911094688 Copenhagen DET FRI AKTUELT in Danish 1 Nov 88 p 21

[Erik Holstein and Thomas Larsen report on interview with Soviet Admiral Boris Yashin and Soviet Peace Council Secretary Vladimir Karyuk: "All Quiet on the Eastern Front"]

[Text] "Only for defense." [Words quoted in English]

Soviet Admiral Boris Yashin and Soviet Peace Council Secretary Vladimir Karyuk were in Denmark to talk about restructuring in the Soviet Union's military forces as part of an East-West meeting with Danish and West German soldiers.

The Soviet leadership has revised the Soviet Union's international policy on a number of points and General Secretary Gorbachev wants to transfer resources from the military to the rest of society.

Boris Yashin does not think that drastic changes have taken place:

"It has always been our policy to have only the necessary military forces. We only have what can be used to defend ourselves. That is why it is nothing new that emphasis is being put on the civilian sector instead of the military.

"We only have the forces necessary for the defense of our country."

[Interviewer] But Gorbachev has announced a break with the prevailing situation hitherto with regard to investments in the military.

[Interviewee] "We do of course want to transfer funds to the civilian sector where this can be done. Perhaps Gorbachev wants to reinforce this process through his policies."

[Interviewer] Why do you have the large offensive capability that you do?

[Interviewee] "We do not have such a capability. It is true that the Warsaw Pact has superiority in some fields. But in others the West is superior. Just consider air and naval forces. If we take the overall picture, there is a balance," Vladimir Karyuk stressed.

[Interviewer] But why does the Soviet Army use offensive weapons such as tanks and landing forces—the so-called amphibious forces?

[Interviewee] "Our amphibious forces are very small. Nothing to speak of."

[Interviewer] But all military analysts say the opposite.

[Interviewee] "No matter, our forces only counterbalance NATO's superiority in other fields—and at the same time the arms balance figures are always being manipulated."

[Interviewer] The Soviet press has recently spoken of a lack of discipline in the Soviet Army. To what is this due?

[Interviewee] "The fact that the problem is being raised now is a result of the new openness," Vladimir Karyuk said. "The problem has always existed, but it is not a large problem. It happens that soldiers bully a comrade. But on the whole morale is good."

[Interviewer] Has the invasion of Afghanistan not damaged morale?

[Interviewee] "Not at all. The soldiers were aware that they were only going to Afghanistan to help the people—it was only to help the people [phrase quoted in English]," the Peace Council secretary said.

[Interviewer] How are conscripts' rights and interests protected?

[Interviewee] "Soldiers do not have proper trade unions. But Komsomol, the young communists' organization, acts as a guarantor of soldiers' rights."

[Interviewer] What about soldiers who are not party members?

[Interviewee] "They are also able to voice their demands. Every soldier has the right to put his problems to his officers, and the officer must listen," Boris Yashin said.